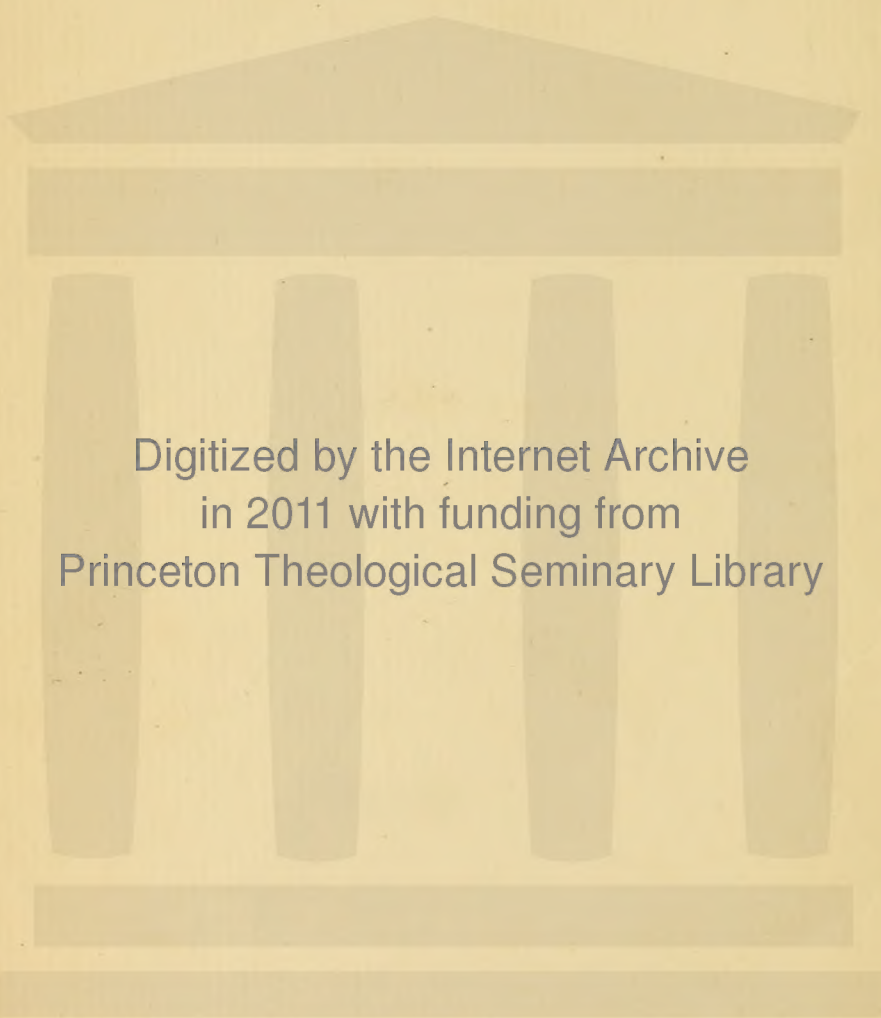


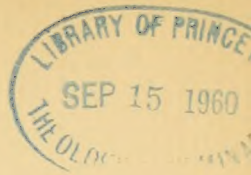
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VOLUME IV.



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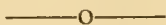
THE
BLOODY TENENT YET MORE BLOODY.

EDITED BY

SAMUEL L. CALDWELL.



EDITOR'S PREFACE.



HE reply of Mr. Cotton to *The Bloudy Tenent* was published in London, May 15, 1647.¹ It is a work of 195 pages, and is bound in the same volume with his *Reply to Mr. Williams his examination*, which was written earlier, and is inserted after it with a different paging. It is in seventy-nine chapters, criticising and traversing *The Bloudy Tenent* chapter by chapter, stopping however when it reaches Williams's examination of *The Model of Church and Civil Power*, as Corton disclaimed any part in the composition of that work, and therefore refused to defend it. The nature of its argument may be gathered to some extent from Williams's rejoinder contained in the present volume, and now for the first time reprinted.

In November, 1651, the author sailed from Boston,² for England. His companion there, and probably on the voyage,³ was John Clarke of Newport, who was joined

¹ 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* viii : 287.

² His petition for permission to embark there is in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv : 471.

³ "I do not think it likely that Clarke came to Massachusetts to embark with

Williams, considering the treatment experienced by him in that colony only a short time before." Palfrey, *Hist. of N. E.* ii : 355. Yet Mr. Palfrey represents that Clarke went there and pro-

with him in an effort to secure the repeal of Coddington's commission, and the confirmation of the Charter. It was also a part of Clarke's business in England to make known the proceedings of the authorities of Massachusetts in their treatment of himself and his companion Obadiah Holmes, on their visit to Lynn the previous summer.¹ This he did in his *Ill Newes from New-England: or a Narrative of New-Englands Persecution*.² As will be seen, Williams made use of their case to give point to his argument.

"In the second Moneth, 1652," according to the title-pages, Williams published *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*, and *The Hireling Ministry None of Christs*. According to the Julian calendar, then in vogue, this was in April. On the tenth page of the Address to Parliament, which precedes the following work, there is a reference to the war with Holland, which broke out in May, and which would therefore indicate that this book was not printed till after the other two.³ In the "Epistle Dedicatory" to *The Hireling Ministry*, however, he speaks of his "late unwashing of Mr. Cotton's washing of the Bloudy Tenent," as if it had already been published. But it

voked such "treatment" in order to procure a grievance to carry with him to England. On that theory, neither his fears, nor his resentments would have prevented his going to Boston for the convenience of sailing with Williams. Besides, his fine was paid, he was liable to no charge, and he had made a proposition for a public dispute there three times, professing his willingness "through the help of God to come from the Iland to attend it." Williams himself had some question in regard to embarking at Boston, seeing that he had been banished from the jurisdiction. He writes to John Winthrop,

jr., "Being now bound resolutely (if the Lord please) for our native country, I am not certain whether by the way of the English, (you know the reason) or by the way of the Dutch." Knowles, *Memoir*, 248.

¹ See pp. 52, 53 *infra*.

² 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* ii.

³ p. 10 *infra*. This is also sustained by an allusion to it in his first letter to Mrs. Sadleir. "Since I landed, I have published two or three things, and have a large discourse at the press, but 'tis controversial." Elton, *Life*, 89.

appears by a marginal note to the Letter to Governor Endicott, which follows this treatise, that "this Rejoynder was sent to England long since, and hoped to have been published."¹ In the Table of Contents at the end of the Book, there is a similar statement: "This Rejoynder formerly sent out of N. Eng. but not till now published."² As his reference to the case of Obadiah Holmes is inserted in the margin rather than in the text, at page 3 *infra*, it may be reasonably inferred that the treatise was written, and perhaps sent to England, prior to the date of Holmes's arrest, July 19, 1651. The title-page also speaks of the Letter to Endicott "as a Testimony to Mr. Clark's Narrative," as if that had been already published. The *Ill Newes* was issued, according to Mr. Savage, May 13, 1652.³

When in England before, he had had the services of Gregory Dexter, especially in printing the *Key*; who was now living in Providence, and to whom Williams wrote under date of October 7, 1652, "It hath pleased God so to engage me in divers skirmishes against the priests, both of Old and New England, so that I have occasioned using the help of printer men, unknown to me, to long for my old friend."⁴ He intimates that his intention had been to print with this an Examination of Cotton's *Reply*, which was printed with *The Bloudy Tenent Washed*, but that he was prevented by "streights of time,

¹ p. 505 *infra*.

² In 1650, Williams writes to John Winthrop, jr., "You may please to remember that I have bene large (in the *Bloudie Tenent*) in the difference betweene that land of Israell and all others. It is in discussing of the modell. Mr. Cotton refers the answere to the rest of

the elders, whose answer or reply I yet here not of, and pray you if you doe, to intimate. 'Tis a controversie wherein I am deeply engaged, of which you will (if God please) see more." 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi: 282.

³ 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* viii: 287.

⁴ Knowles, *Memoir*, 253.

being constantly drunk up by necessary labours for bread for many depending on me, the discharge of Engagements, and wanting helps of transcribing."

As in the previous work, he prefixes an address to Parliament, in which praise and religious dehortation and appeal are mingled. The Editor has inferred from an allusion at the top of the tenth page, that this address was written during the progress of the Dutch War, and after the conflict between Blake and Van Tromp, May 18, 1652, arising out of neglect in "striking of colours." In the original work the three addresses with which it is prefaced are not paged, are in slightly different type, and were probably printed, and perhaps written, in England, after the remainder of the work had been put to press.

The work is followed by a letter to Governor Endicott, in reference to the case of Clarke and Holmes, which furnished so pertinent an illustration of the subject of the present discussion. This letter was apparently written in the course of a correspondence with Endicott in regard to Indian affairs, and sent to him the previous summer, shortly after the events to which it refers.¹ Its style seems more as if it were a continuation of the present treatise, or a formal address, than a friendly letter. But as it is spoken of as a "Copie," and begins with an allusion to another letter, or a previous part of this, it is most reasonable to suppose that it was first sent to Endicott,

¹ Endicott writes to John Winthrop, *ir.*, "Salem the 15, 6, 51. I have written to Mr. Williams an answer to his letter you were pleased to bring mee, and I hope to satisfaccion as much as lyes in mee. And I heartilie desire that you will labour with the Sachims of the

Narragansetts, Ninecroft and Mixam, that they will be peaceable with their neighbour Indeans till their complaints be heard and answered, which I shall endeavour to effect the next generall Court." 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi: 153,

and for immediate remonstrance, and was taken to England to be published with this work, as adding force to it, and also to Clarke's own plea for the same principle.

Williams also adds, in an Appendix, an address "to the cleargie of the foure greate Parties, viz: The Popish, Prelaticall, Presbyterian, and Independent." This appears to have been written after his arrival in England, and probably while this work was passing through the press, as allusion is made to "Mr. Clark's Narrative," as "lately published," which, as has been mentioned, was issued as early as the 13th of May, 1652. And in another sentence one hears the echoes of the guns in Dover roadstead five days later, when he speaks of "the Treacherous Dutchmen, who Capitulate of Leagues of Peace and Amitie, with their neighbor English, and in the midst of State Complements (some say, out of malicious wrath, others say twas out of drunken Intoxications at the best) thunder out Broad-sides of Fire and Smoake of persecution."¹

The author, though engaged in a mission which would induce him to conciliate the ruling powers, does not hesitate to speak very boldly, and to charge upon all of them complicity in the doctrine and the practices he is assailing. He arraigns the Independents, then the strong party, who through Cromwell were rising to power, as guilty with all the rest, notwithstanding they were charged with being friendly to toleration. Other incidental references are to be noted. The last page of the address To the Reader, contains his confession of faith in

¹ p. 526 *infra*. "Which was the aggrefor in the action which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery disposition, it is not easy to determine; since each of

them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet." Hume, *Hist. of Eng.* vii: 220.

regard to the Church. On pages 191 and 380 also are statements in regard to the church and ministry, similar to those contained in *The Hireling Ministry*. More than once he refers to the Six Principles or Foundations alluded to in Hebrews vi : 1. 2., which were adopted as a basis of fellowship by many of the Baptists of Rhode Island in his day and since.¹ That he was not fully satisfied with any existing Church, although abiding substantially by his principles as a Baptist, is tolerably clear from the incidental allusions scattered through his works published at this period, and perhaps more distinctly from his letter to John Winthrop, jr., written Dec. 9, 1649. He there says, "At Secunck a great many have lately concurred with Mr. Jo: Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new Baptisme, and the manner by dipping: and Mr. Jo: Clarke hath bene there lately (and Mr. Lucar) and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes neerer the first practice of our great Founder Christ then other practices of religion doe, and yet I have not satisfaction neither in the authoritie by which it is done, nor in the manner: nor in the prophecies concerning the rising of Christs Kingdome after the desolations by Rome, &c."² On pages

¹ In the note on p. 21, it is suggested that Williams may have been the first who advocated imposition of hands, and the Six Principles as essential to church fellowship. The Rev. W. Perkins, published in London, in 1606, a work called *The Foundation of the Christian Religion* gathered into Six Principles, to which John Robinson published an Appendix. But it had no reference to the passage in Hebrews, or to the imposition of hands. D'Anvers states that the practice commenced in England about the year

1646. Evans, *Early English Baptists*, ii: 146.

² 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi: 274. Oct. 18, 1649, the General Court of Massachusetts write to Plymouth, "Particularly wee understand that within this few weeks there have binne at Sea Cuncke thirteen or fourteen persons rebaptized (a swift progres in one towne.) The infection of such disease being so neare us, are likely to spread into our jurisdiction." *Mass. Col. Rec.* iii: 173.

44-47 he has further allusion to his views on these prophecies.

The NARRAGANSETT CLUB, in reprinting this work, have had the use of a copy of the first edition, which was bequeathed to the Library of Brown University by the Rev. Isaac Backus, the Historian of the Baptists, and which was presented by Williams to John Clarke. On a fly-leaf is the following inscription in Williams's handwriting: "For his honoured and beloved Mr. John Clarke, an eminent witnes of Christ Jesus, agst ye bloodie Doctrine of perfection, &c."

S. L. C.

PROVIDENCE, March 2, 1870.

T H E
BLOODY TENENT

Y E T
More Bloody:

B Y

Mr *Cottons* endeavour to wash it white in the
BLOOD of the *LAMBE*;

Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the
Blood of his Servants; and

Of the blood of Millions spilt in former and
later Wars for Conscience sake,

T H A T

Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of
Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more
apparently and more notoriously guilty.

In this Rejoynder to Mr *Cotton*, are principally

- | | | |
|--|---|------------|
| I. <i>The Nature of Persecution,</i> | } | Examined; |
| II. <i>The Power of the Civill Sword in Spirituals</i> | | |
| III. <i>The Parliaments permission of Dissenting Consciences</i> | } | Justified. |

Also (as a Testimony to M^r *Clarks* Narrative) is added
a Letter to Mr. *Endicot* Governor of the *Maffachusetts* in *N. E.*

By R. WILLIAMS of *Providence* in *New-England*.

London, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, and are to be sold at
the black-spread-Eagle at the West-end of *Pauls*, 1652.





TO THE
MOST HONORABLE
 THE PARLIAMENT OF THE
 Common-wealth of ENGLAND.

Most Noble Senators,



NE of the greatest *Spirits*, and as active as later times have yeilded, *Charles* the fifth, tired out with *Affairs of State*, resigns up all, and sits down to end his dayes in quiet *Contemplation*. I doubt not but many of your Honorable *Heads* *The Parliaments Labours and Labyrinths,* have felt the thorny *Crown* (of these late years troubles) so *sharp*, so *weighty*, that your *tired* *Spirits* would joyfully embrace, if not (with *Charles* the fifth) a totall *Cessation*, yet like some faithfull tired *Judge*, (after so long and troublesome a *Tearm*) at least some breathing short *Vacation*.¹

¹ The Long Parliament had existed since Nov. 3, 1640. Of course it had changed, and in fact had been greatly reduced in that time. Williams perhaps saw the signs of its coming dissolution. It had voted Nov. 18, 1651, just before

his arrival in England, and probably under the constraint of the victory at Worcester, Cromwell's "crowning mercy," that at the end of three years it would give way to a new Parliament, to be seasonably summoned. But Crom-

Although I dare not (as to *Englands* peace and safety) admit desires of your *Totall Cessation*, or long *vacation*: yet common *Gratitude* for such incomparable labours, expences, hazards, &c. from whence the God of heaven hath vouchsafed such rare and incomparable preservations, deliverances, enjoyments, &c. I say common gratitude cannot onely with you heartily & pray for earnestly your eternal *Rest*, and most joyfull *Harvest* in the Heavens, but also, all the possible breathing hours, and cool retired *shades* of Contemplation and self-enjoyment amidst the scorching *Travels* [travails] of so many vexing and tedious *Actions*. You cannot (ever renowned Patriots) but like some grave Commanders of *Fleets* and *Armies*, who have brought their *Ships* and *followers* through tempestuous *storms* and bloody *fight*s, to joyful *Rest* and *Harbours*! You cannot but look back with Admirings, with Praisings, with Resolvings to cast you Crowns, and Heads, and Hearts, and Hands, (for the remaining *Minutes* of the short Candle of your life) at his *Feet*, in whose most High and most gracious Hands have all your *Breaths* and *wayes* been.

Two Subsidies granted by the Parliament to the King of Kings.

In the review of the multitude of your *Actings* and *Sufferings*, your *Battells* and *Victories*, *Dangers* and *Deliverances*, you cannot, (no man can) but observe and see (a naked) Arm from Heaven fighting for you, but most especially since the times and houres you gratified the most *High Eternall King of Kings* (now more then ever *Englands King*) with well finished it before that, dissolving it by force April 20, 1653. Guizot, *Cromwell and Eng. Commonwealth*, i: 315-318.

Charles V. abdicated Oct. 15, 1555, retiring to Yuste, in Spain. Robertson, *Life, &c.*, iii: 201; Stirling, *Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*.

these two famous *Subsidies* (if I may in humble Reverence so call them.)

The first, of *Mercy* and *Moderation* to the poor ^{The first Subsidy.} oppressed Consciences of the *English Nation*, amidst the throng of which he graciously will, yea he hath acknowledged, that *some* of his own dear *Children* (the *Sonnes* and *Daughters* of the God of Heaven) have been relieved and succoured by you.

The second your high and impartiall drawing of the Sword of *Justice* upon the great and *highest* offenders:^{The second Subsidy.} Since which two wonderfull Subsidies, the most wilfully blind must be forced to see the glorious *Goings* of the God of Heaven with your *Councils* and *Armies*, and the discharge of his holy promise in honouring you, who have so highly, (in so rare and unparalleled *Travels* [travails] and *Hazards*) honored him.

Concerning the first of these *Subsidies*, I was humbly bold some few yeares since, to present you with a Conference between *Peace* and *Truth*, touching a most bloody Murtherous *Malefactor*, the bloody ^{The Bloody} *Tenant* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*: (a ^{Tenant a} notorious and common *Pirate*, that *takes* and *robbs*, ^{common} that *fires* and *sinks* the (*Spirituall Shipps* and *Vessels*) ^{Pyrat.} the *Consciences* of all men, of all sorts, of all *Religions* and *Perfwasions* whatsoever.

* One of the first acts of this Parliament had been to impeach the Earl of Strafford, Nov. 18, 1640. He was executed May 12, 1641. McDiarmid, *Brit. Statesmen*, 391. Archbishop Laud was sent to the Tower March 1, 1641, under articles of impeachment for high treason. These were not followed up for a long time. But in March 1644,

he was brought to trial, and was beheaded Jan. 10, 1645. Neal, *History of Puritans*, i: 501-526, gives an abstract of the trial. Charles I. was beheaded by order of a High Court of Justice constituted by this Parliament, Jan. 30, 1649. Clarendon, *Hist. of Rebellion*, v: 2387; Guizot, *Eng. Revolution*, i, 450.

Mr. Cottons Reply.

It hath pleased Master *Cotton*, (a Man incomparably too worthy for such a service) to attempt the washing of this bloody *Tenent*, (as hee speakes) in the blood of the Lamb CHRIST JESUS (though one part of the *Conference*, to wit, the *Examination* of a *N. English Modell* of *Church* and *Civill Power*, he leaveth to the washing of some other of the *N. English Ministers*, the *Authors* of that *Modell*, of whose washings as yet I have not heard of:)' This present discourse presents your *Honours* with the second part of the *Conference* between *Peace* and *Truth*, and hath examined Mr. *Cottons Reply* and washings.

I summe up the multitude of my *Thoughts* touching your *Honours Consideration* of this point, in these three most humble *Petitions*.

The first Petition.

First, I most humbly and earnestly beseech your *Honours* to mind the *Difference* between *State Necessity* of *Freedome* to different *Consciences*, and the *Equity* and *Piety* of such a *Freedome*.

Difference between the Piety and Mercy, and State-necessity of granting

State Policie and *Necessity* of *Affairs* drew from great *Constantine* (with his Colleague *Licinius*) that famous *Edict* of *Freedome* to all mens *Consciences*, whom yet afterward he persecuted:² But a *Successor* of his (of late years) *Maximilian* the second, comes

¹ Cotton gives but one chapter to his consideration of Williams's examination of the *Model*, protesting that he was not the author of it. He says, "But wherefore doe I put my Sicle into the Harvest of my Brethren? my Brethren, who penned that *Modell*, are richly furnished by Christ with ability to defend it. I therefore leave it to them, whom it chiefly concerneth, to maintaine the

Truth, which themselves have witnessed in that *Modell*." *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, 195.

² "Either in the spring or summer of 312, Constantine, in conjunction with his eastern colleague, Licinius, had published an edict of religious toleration, now not extant. Soon after, in January, 313, the two Emperors issued from Milan a new edict (the third) on religion,

neerer the *Life* of the *Businesse*, when he conscientiously profest in a solemne *Speech* to the Bishop of *Olmuts* in *Bohemia*, *There is no sin ordinarily greater against God*, said he, *then to use violence against the Consciences of men.*¹ freedom to mens Consciences. Constantines and Maximilians acts compared,

Your *Honours* will find (if the *Father* of *Spirits* please to spare you time and *Spirits*, to mind this *Cause* and *Controversie*, that all violence to *Conscience* turns upon these two *Hinges*.

First, of *Restraining* from that *worshipping* of a *God* or *Gods*, which the *Consciences* of men in their respective worships (all the world over) believes to be *true*. Two wayes of oppressing conscience in Religion.

Secondly, of *Constraining* to the *practising* or *coun-tenancing* of that whereof their *Consciences* are not perswaded. *

In the *practice* of both these, the *Histories* of our own *Nation* will tell us (besides the forraigne) how *sharp* and *zealous* the *strongest Swords* of *England* have ever us'd to be.

And yet of the *practice* of both, what a *Propheticall passage* of our late troubles and *King*, did the foresaid *Maximilian* expresse to *Henry* the third of *France*, (in his passage from *Poland* to *France* to claim the *French Crown*) to this effect, Sir, remember that when men think to get Heaven by using violence to the *Consciences* of men, they oftentimes lose that The late King Charles his conscience to oppresse the consciences of others, no small occa-

still extant both in Latin and Greek, in which, in the spirit of religious eclecticism, they granted full freedom to all existing forms of worship, with special reference to the Christian." Schaff, *Hist. of Christ'n Ch.* ii: 29; Neander, *do.*, ii: 12, 13; Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, ii: 356.

¹ Maximilian II. (1527-1576) became Emperor in 1564. His sentiments and his acts were all in favor of toleration, although he adhered to the Catholic Church. Coxe, *House of Austria*, ii: 19, 62.

son of the
ruine of
him and
his.

The Bish-
ops kild the
King.

Hollands
policy.

The per-
mission of
conscience
in Holland.

Gods won-
derful go-
ings in
Holland
from Sta-
fore, un-
done by
Pride and
unthank-
fulness,

which they might peaceably have kept on *Earth*.¹ Some have said that *worldly policie* perswaded, as well as *State-necessity* compelled the States of *Holland* to a prudent permission of different *Consciences*.² And that the said *State-policie* perswaded some *Dutch* to wish that *England* might not tolerate, least a permission of Conscience in *England* should break down the *Bridge* and *Passage* into their parts of *Freedome* in causes of Conscience.

Those prudent and prosperous *States* have gone far (though driven by *Spanish* persecution) to it) in taking off the yoke from the necks of *Dutch* & *English*, *French* yea, *Popish* & *Jewish* consciences. For all which (though but Mercy, though but Justice and humanity to fellow mankind) he that runs may read the truth of Gods never failing *Promises*, *Blessed* are the *Mercifull* for they shall obtain *Mercy*.

Their own *Chronicles* tells us of a wonderfull walk of the God of Heaven between three of their most eminent Towns or Cities, First *Stafore* was the wondrous Wealthy City, their *golden Citie*, til a proud wealthy, *Merchants widow*, caused a whole ships loading of wheat (which her ship brought home and she despised) to be thrown over into the Harbour, which (with other Accidents of water and weather, Gods most righteous providences) so choak'd up the *Haven*, that Vessels of Burthen durst never frequent that *Citie* (by this occasion) most wondrously impoverish'd since.

¹ Coxe, *House of Austria*, ii: 29; Wrexall, *Hist. of France*, ii: 129, 131.

² The effects of toleration upon the prosperity of Holland are well treated

by Sir William Temple, in his *Observations on the Netherlands*, Works, i: 61.

See also McCullagh, *Industrial History of Free Nations*, ii: 299.

From *Stafore* God carries all the *Shipping* and *wealth* To Enchuyfin, undone by the bloody Tenent of Persecution:
 to *Enchuyfin*, whose Zealous, over-zealous and furious
Clergie provoke the *Civil Magistrates* to persecute
dissenting, non conforming consciences: Amongst the
 rest 'tis rare (if ever) that the most glorious *Son* of
 God himself escapes.

From *Enchuyfin* therefore (a Den of persecuting From Enchuyfin to Amsterdam, raised to its present hight and glory, by mercy to the persecuted.
Lyons, and mountain of *Leopards*)¹ the *persecuted* fled
 to *Amsterdam*, a poor fishing Town, yet harborous
 and favourable to the *flying*, though dissenting *con-*
sciences: This confluence of the persecuted, by *Gods*
 most gracious coming with them, drew *Boats*, drew
Trade, drew *Shipping*, and that so mightily in so short
 a time, that *Shipping*, *Trading*, *wealth*, *Greatnesse*,
Honour (almost to astonishment in the Eyes of all
Europe, and the *world*) have appeared to fall as out
 of Heaven in a Crown or Garland upon the head of
 that poor Fisher Town.

O ye the prime of English men and English *worthies*,
 whose *sences* have so oft perceived the everlasting
 Arms of the Invincible and Eternal King, when your
 Ships *Hold* hath been full with water, yea with *Blood*,
 when storms without, fires and mutinies within, when
 she hath beaten upon some Rocky *Hearts* and *passa-*
ges, as if she would have staved and split into a thou- Englands ship got into Harbour.
 sand pieces; yet this so neer stav'd, so neer fired, so
 neer split, foundred, sinking Nation, hath the *God* of
Heaven (by your most valiant and carefull hands)
 brought safe to *Peace* her *Harbour*! Why now should
 any duty possible be impossible? yea, why not impos-
 sibilities possible? Why should your *English* Seas con-

¹ Song of Solomon, iv: 8.

Striking of Colours. tend with a neighbour *Dutchman* for the motion of a piece of *Silk*,¹ &c. and not ten thousand fold much more your *English* Spirits with theirs for the Crown of that State-piety and Wisdome which may make your faces more to *shine*, not only with a common lustre after a *Dutch* President, [precedent] but (if it be the holy will of God, and I humbly hope it may be) with a *glory* far transcending all your fairest neighbours Copies.

The States of *Holland* having smarted deeply, and paid so dearly for the purchase of their freedoms, reach to the neighbour Nations and the world, a *tast* of such their dainties. And yet (with due reverence to so wise a *State*, and with due thankfulness for mercy and relief to many poor oppressed Consciences) I say their Piety nor Policie could ever yet reach so far, nor could they in all their School of Warre (as their Countries have been call'd) learn that one poor *Lesson* of setting absolutely the consciences of all men free.

'Tis true, they vouchsafed to the Papists and Arminians the *liberty* (as I may so speak) of the prison, and sometimes to go abroad (as I may say) with a *Keeper*, &c. But why should not such a parliament as *England* never had, (and who knows whether ever will the like) why should not the piety and policie

Touching absolute freedom to

¹ May 18, 1652, the Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, with a fleet of forty-two vessels came into the roadstead at Dover, where Blake lay with a smaller fleet. The Dutch Admiral neglected or delayed to strike his topmasts and flag as England required of foreign men-of-war in its

own waters. This led to a bloody engagement, which precipitated actual war between the Commonwealth and Holland. Hume, *Hist. of England*, vii: 220. This indicates that this work was published later in 1652 than May.

of such *Statesmen* out-shoot and teach their Neigh-^{every mans}
bours, by framing a safe communication of freedome ^{conscience}
of *Conscience* in worship, even to them to whom with ^{impar-}
good security of *Civill peace*) it is as due as to any ^{tially.}
other Consciences or Worshippers in the World) the
Papists and *Arminians* themselves. Of the Piety and ^{Freedom}
Policie of such a freedom I have discoursed more ^{of Popish}
largely in the answering of some Objections of Mr. ^{consciences.}
Cotton in Chapter 59. of this Book : and proved that ^{See Chap.}
such a freedom of the Conscience of each member ^{59, more}
of the Commonweal, and such a Commonweal as ^{particu-}
Englands now is, especially, cannot in all probability ^{larly.}
prove so dangerous and prejudiciall as many do
imagine and discourse, but contrarily many wayes
prove beneficiall, and marvellously advantageous.

Your Honors know what bloody bickerings and
bloodsheds have been in later times in *Germany*, in
the *Low-Countries*, in *France*, in *England*, in *Polonia*,
in *Hungaria*, *Bobemia*, *Transilvania*, &c. about the
Freedom of mens Consciences and Worship?

The God of Heaven may also please graciously to
remember you, that it hath been the fatall error of
all Reformers that *England* or other States have seen, ^{Old images}
to doe as the *Portugals* did in the *East-Indies*, who ^{puld down,}
pull'd down the Images of the *Pagans* whom they ^{and new}
conquered, and set up their own Images of *Portugall* ^{set up.}
in their stead and places.¹

¹ The Portuguese through the great
Albuquerque took possession of Goa in
1503. It became a great focus of profe-
lytism, and hundreds of thousands of con-
verts were made. But success came in a
great measure by conformity to existing
pagan practices. Later, the Jesuits, and

especially Father Nobili, carried this to
excess, until it was checked by the briefs
of successive Popes. Ranke, *Hist. of Popes*,
302; Nicolini, *Hist. of Jesuits*, 96-128.
See also Hough, *Hist. of Christianity in*
India, ii: 248; Tennent, *Christianity in*
Ceylon, 14, 20.

It is agreed on all hands that subscribe to one God, that his worship is but one, and that all besides that one true God, are idols, and all worship beside his own (but one) are Images: And you know the fiery jealousy of the *Eternall* will not ever endure an Image (though never so fair) his Rivall: Hence in the many former *Changes* of estates, and *State-worships* (by Gods just and jealous permission) the childrens work hath been to tumble down their fathers buildings. Nor can your most prudent *Heads*, and potent *Hands* possibly erect that *Fabrick*, which the next *Age* (it may be the next *Parliament*) may not tumble down. And yet so may the God of Heaven so please to guide you in the high matters that concern the worship of God, and the *Consciences* of men, that (what ever be the present or future consequences) your own Consciences may reap the joyfull harvest of their present and eternall *Requiems*.

The *Pope*, the *Turk*, the King of *Spain*, the *Emperour*, and the rest of Persecutors, build among the Eagles, and the Starres,¹ yet while they practice violence to the Souls of *Men*, and make their *Swords* of Steele Corrivalls with the two-edged Spirituall *Sword* of the Sonne of God: the *Basis* of their *Highest Pillars*, the *Foundation* of their glorious *Palaces*, are but *Drosse* and *Rottenneffe*. And however in our poore Arithmeticke, their Kingdomes *Number* seem great, yet in the onely wise account of the Eternall, their Ages are but Minutes, and their short Periods are neer accomplished; for herein the *Maxime* is most

¹ "Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence I will bring thee down, saith the Lord." *Obadiab*, 4.

true, (in the matters of Religion and Consciences of ^{must} men, especially:) the *violent* motion must break.

But *Light* from the *Father of Lights* hath shined on your eyes: Mercy from the Father of Mercies hath softned your breasts, to be tender of the tenderest part of Man, his Conscience: for indeed there is no true Reason of *Policy or Piety* (as this Discourse ^{The Act for Civill} discovereth) why that man that will subscribe (and give assurance for honest meaning) to that most prudent Act of Civill Engagement,^{Engage-ment of great ne-} (what ever his Conscience be) should be depriv'd and rob'd of the liberty of it, in *Spirituall* and *Religious* matters.

I have (I fear) been long in my first Petition, my second shall be brief, is this.

I most humbly and earnestly beseech your Honours ^{The second} in all the straits and difficulties which yet you are ^{Petition.} to passe (concerning this great point of mens Consciences, or other high affairs) steere carefully off from one sunk *Rock*, on which so many gallant Vessels have miscarried. This *Rock* lies deeper then others, and seldom hath appeared but at some Deadlow water, when the most high Judge of the whole world reckons with Men or States, in low conditions and debasements.

I humbly beg from *God* the gracious continuance of his mighty *Angels guard* about your sitting, to preserve your Honours from the flames of *Wars* abroad, and from such flames at home: from *Risings*,

* This was a part of the legislation by which the authority of the Government of the Commonwealth was to be established. It was adopted Oct. 11, 1649, and required every subscriber to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or House of Lords." *Parliamentary History*, iii: 1334.

*Worldly
wisdom in
straits a
most dan-
gerous
rock.* from *Tumults*, from *Mutinies*, from *Pistols*, from *Stabs*,
from *Powder-plots*, from *Poyson*, &c. but above all,
from your own *Wisdoms* and *Policies* in straits and
difficulties.

The holy History tells, that on this *Rock* (in a
State strait) strook the great Statist *Jeroboam*, to the
ruine of himself and his posterity.

On this *Rock* split that famous and zealous Re-
former *Jehu*.

This pluckt the Crown from *Sauls* high head,
when his own wisdom in straits made him presump-
tuous about the worship of God.

This pluckt off the Crown, and pluck out the eyes
of *Zedekiah*, when in a strait he trusted not in God,
as *Solomon* speaks, but leaned to his own understand-
ing for his safety.

*The third
Petition.*

To which purpose my third Petition is, that in
the midst of so many great *Negotiations* of *Justice*, of
Mercy to the Bodies and Estates, or Spirits & Con-
sciences of so many thousands and ten thousand, you
forget not to deal *justly*, & to shew *mercy* to your
selves: Oh how lamentable and dreadful wil it prove,
if after all your high *Employments* (as the *State-Agents*
& *Factors* for the *Commonweal*!) if in the midst of
all your cares and fears, and toings about the *Souls*
and *Consciences* and *salvations* of others, your own
most dear and pretious selves make an *eternal ship-
wrack*?

*Soul ship-
wrack.*

Your *Honors* know, that although men have chosen
and cull'd you out as *wise* and *noble*, yet *God* hath not
chosen (if *Paul* say true) many *wise* and *noble* to eter-
nall *life* and *bleessednesse*.

Who can love and honor you, and not cry to the *God of Heaven* for you, and to your selves for your selves: Be not so busie about the *Earthly* estate, no nor the *Heavenly* estate of others, as to forget to make sure your own *vocation* and *election*, & to work out your own *salvation* with *fear* and *trembling*.

Oh let not this bold *cry* offend, and though offend, yet let it throughly *awake* your noble *spirits* to know your dangers & hindrances (more then other mens) *Dangers of Parliament men.* from a world of *distractions* from without, from *pride* & *self-confidence* from within, from the flatteries of such who (hoping for rewards & morsels from you) proclaim abroad (that you may hear it) O blessed *Christian Magistrates, Christian Kings & Queens, Christian States, Christian Parliaments, Christian Armies*, so lulling your pretious souls into an *eternall sleep*.

I need not remember your *Honours* of that most wonderful *summa totalis* of all the castings up of *Solomons* choice particulars (his *wisdom, works, riches, peace* and *pleasures*,) *Vanity* and *vexation* of *spirits*. I need not remember you of that wonderfull *Confession* *Wonderfull Confessions of two mighty Kings.* of *Philip* the 2nd of *Spain* (neer his last) to his successor *Philip* the 3rd, to this effect: I have had
 “for and son *Philip* the 3rd, to this effect: I have had
 “and expended (about the time of these 30 years) 594.
 “millions of *Treasure*, and yet gained nothing for my
 “self but *heart sorrow*, and *vexation* of *Spirit*.¹ Your

¹ Watfon, *History of Philip II.*, 440. Gayarré, *Philip II., of Spain*, 2-11. Mr. Motley gives a detailed account of the death of Philip II. *Hist. of Netherlands*, iii: 503-511. He sets a low estimate on what was then considered his enormous revenue. He says: “His income was estimated by careful contemporary statesmen at what seemed to them

the prodigious annual amount of sixteen millions of dollars. He carried on a vast war without interruption during the whole of his forty-three years reign, and in so doing is said to have expended a sum total of seven hundred millions of dollars—a statement which made men’s hair stand on their heads. Yet the American Republic during its civil war

own observant *eyes* and *ears* (in the late most wonderfull changes and tossings of all affairs and things) cannot but read a thousand *Lectures* to your most serious midnight and morning *Thoughts* of the most *certain uncertainties* of Friends, Treasures, Revenues, Armies, Forts, Magazines, Castles, Ships and Navies, Crowns and Lives.

*True
Heavenly
wisdom.*

Why then should your renowned *wisdom & prudence* excel the folly of others as much as *light* excelleth *darkness*, in searching of the root and causes of *matters*, in fore-seeing Events and Consequences, in raising Monies and Armies, in choosing Agents, in framing Laws, in managing great affairs at home & abroad, in discovering *plots*, in preventing *dangers*, & finall overthrows by sure retreats, &c. If yet, alas, that wisdom make not out a saving discovery of the most holy and only wise, the *Alpha & Omega*, the first of *causes* and last of *Ends* (in whose hand is all your *breath* and *ways* :) in raising *spiritual supplies* against your spiritually devouring *adversaries*, in discovering their *methods*, *designes*, *deceits*, in preventing that (that) fatall overthrow, and eternall defeat (*remediless*, *hopeless*) where the *worm* never dies, and the *fire* never goes out?

*The onely
valour or
courage.*

O why should your renowned *valors* so glory in the conquest of *Cities*, *Castles*, *Ships* & *Armies*, if your selves are led captive in the spiritual chains of *lusts* & *passions*, a more lamentable, and more to be deplored object, then the poorest *slaves* in the *Spanish* and *Turkish Gallies*.

to repress the insurrection of the slave-holders, has spent nominally as large a sum as this every year; and the British

Empire in time of profound peace spends half as much annually." iii: 519.

What shall avail your admired *diligence* and *activity* in managing & quick dispatching so many and so high *affairs*, by day and night, catching hold of all occasions, redeeming all opportunities, improving all advantages, if you lose the fair *Gales*, and oresslip and sleep away the pretious and inestimable seasons and calls, and knocks and offers of your own eternal *Mercies* ? *True and best diligence.*

What boots your exemplary and impartiall *justice* on so many and so high *Delinquents*, if your own bosomes are found traiterous to the State of *Heaven*, rebellious to the *King*, to the *God* of *spirits*, and if in that most high Court of *Justice* from Gods most dreadful *tribunal* you hear that thunder (which oh that you may never hear) *Go ye cursed, &c.* [*Matt.* xxv: 41.] *True Justice and Righteousness.*

'Tis true your *mercies* have been eminent to the poor, to the oppressed, to the captive, to the maimed, to the wounded, to the fatherless, widows, &c. But will you now be cruel to your selves, incompassionate to your own bowels, insensible of your own wounds, and miseries? O search and see, and be persuaded of your infinite want of *Crummes* falling from your *Table of Mercy*! of the infinite *price* and *value* of the *wine* & *oyl* of the mercifull (though despised Samaritan) to ease and supple, to cleanse and heale your broken Hearts and wounded Spirits. *Heavenly mercy.*

The flames of your *Zeal* for the *God* of *Israel* [*2 Kings*, x: 16.] (as that famous *Iebu* said) have been so bright, and mounted so high against two mighty Factions of the Kings and Queens (the *Prelats* & the *Popes*) that those *flames* have not only dazled and amazed all

Late zealous Reformation.

British eyes (the *English* & the *Scotch*) but or'e the *Seas*, and or'e the *Alps*, and or'e the *Pirenean mountains*, and *Romes* own 7 hills have flown & fild all Protestant and Popish ears, and hearts, and tongues, with either admiration & exulting, or furious rage and indignation! Yet what avails these glorious flames, and furious whirling of your zealous Chariots, if yet they are but *Jebu's*? If *Sathan* the God of this world possesse the Throne of *Pride* and *Ostentation* in your bosoms (Come see my zeal which I have for the God of *Israel*) yea though you should go on where *Jebu* left, and shoot home where he fell short, yet what avails it that the God of *Israel* be in *Iebu's* mouth, when *God-selfe*, *God-honour*, &c. fill his breast & heart? What gains he by the slaughter of Princes, Priests and Gods, when *Israel* it self is but an Apostate state from the true worship of the God of *Israel*, and *Iebu* himself (according to the purity of Gods word and ordinances at *Ierusalem*) reformed not so much as his own privat heart & conscience?

Jebu his zeal and reward.

Alas, what solid joy (most zealous *Worthies*) shall a *Crown* of leaves (a temporal reward, *Iebu's* wages) bring to your Noble *Heads* & *Breasts*, if you heare not at last that saving *Call* to all humble and self-denying *Followers* of *Jesus*, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the *Kingdom* prepared for you from the foundation of the world. [Matt. xxv: 34.]

Your admired publick patience so wonderfully assaulted, so wonderfully loaden with such mightie *Trials* from *Mans*, from Gods hand, with such mighty *Losses*, mighty *Defeats*, mighty *Labours* & *Hazards*, mighty *Reproaches*, &c. I say your unwearied Pati-

ence hath stood (like some mighty *Rock*, or *Anvill*) Of the Parliaments patience.
 invincible: Yet who can stile this *Patience*, or State-
 policie! if your private *Howses* and *Breasts* swell and
 swarm with rebellious *Passions*, *Impatiences*, *Re-*
*venge*s! If in the furnaces of your own private afflic-
 tions, and in the powrings out and changes of the
 most *High* upon you, your *Drosse* and *Lees* of unmor-
 tified, un sanctified *Spirits* remain uncleansed! if you
 most humbly kisse not the *Rods* of the most *High*
 chastising you by *sicknes*ses, by *losses*, and other *trialls*,
 humbly thankfull, and longing to declare the *Spirits*
 of true Children, truly desiring more and more to
 partake of his Divine Nature and Holinesse?

Yea, what avails the *Crown* of your enduring Con-
 stancy that have rid out so long a *storm*, held out so Of the Crown of true Con-
 long a *siege*, not fainted in such tedious *Travels*,
Labours, *Oppositions*, *Treacheries*, *Discouragements*,
 but gloriously cast *Anchor* in the Port of *Patience*;
 if yet your personall Righteousness passe away as the
 morning dew melted with the warme beams of vic-
 torious and prosperous *Succes*s? If your own pro-
 fessions of *Christ Jesus* prove but a fading colour, and
 not died in the right Grain of the pretious *blood* of
 the *Son of God*?

Your Honours well remember, that the main point
 of *Luthers Reformation*, (and before him of the *Huf-*
sites in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, and before them of
 the *Wicklevis*ts in *England*, and before them of the
*Waldens*es in *France*, consisted chiefly about Repent- The Con-
 tance and Faith in the blood of *Christ*: That the troverfies
 main Contentions of *Calvin*, and since him of the of late
 most Reformers, have turn'd upon the hinge of the years about *Religion*.

So many
opposite
Churches,
so many
opposite
Christs to
the onely
true.

The Pa-
geant of
Perken
Warbeck
in K. H. 7.
his dayes, a
picture of
false
Christs, or
Churches.

Form of the Church, and the Administrations thereof, the lamentable though pretious *Fuell* of those fires of strife among the wisest, holiest, and learnedst of the Followers of *Christ Jesus* in these times. You know the Lord *Jesus* prophesied, That many *false Christs* should arise, and the Scriptures more then once give the *title* of *Christ* to the Church; whence it is evident, That every severall *Modell, Platform,* and *profession* of a Church, is the profession of a various and different *Christ*. Your Honours also know he spake most true (being *Truth* it Selfe) that said, That which is most highly *esteemed* amongst men, is abomination in the sight of *God*, *Luke* 16. [15.] Hence, such may the glorious profession of *Christs* or *Churches* be, as may ravish the eyes and hearts of men, and from which the jealous eys of the true Lord *Jesus* turn away as from the false and counterfeit with *indignation*. Beside the *Counterfeit* in holy Scripture, how famous was the *Pageant* of that counterfeit King of *England*, which so haunted with long vexations one of the wisest of *Englands* Kings (*Henry* the seventh?) How wonderfully (even to astonishment) did the imposture of *Richard* Duke of *York* (proclaiming *Henry* an usurper and false,) I say, how wonderfully did that monstrous imposture take, that not onely Foraigners where that *Counterfeit* most kept (the Arch-Duke, the King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, the King of *Romanes*, the *Irish* Nation, &c.) were deceived with that feigned King, but also so many gallant men of our own *Nation*, even to the wisest and *highest* (as that famous *Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, the *Preserver* and *Raiser* of King *Henry* him-

felfe) lamentably loft their *Heads* and *Lives* about that pretended King?¹ Now counterfeit *Spirituell delufions* of false and counterfeit *Chriffts*, as they are deeper and stronger, fo they find more eafie *poffeffion* of the *Ears* and *Souls* of men, fo wofully prepared by naturall *self-deceivings*.

On fix principall Pillars or* Foundations (faith the holy Spirit, *Heb. 6. 6.*) is built the fabrick of of true Chriftianity: On *Repentance*, on *Faith*, on *Baptifmes*, on *laying on of Hands*, on the *Refurrection*, and the *Eternall Judgement*.

* *θεμελίον.*
*The fix fundamen-
tals of Chriftian Religion.*
Heb. 6.

Concerning the two middle ones of thefe there are and have been mighty and lamentable differences among the Scholars of *Iefus*, who yet agree in the other foure, of *Repentance* and *Faith*, the *Refurrection* and *Eternall Judgement*.²

Whatfoever your Honours apprehenfions are of the

¹ Henry VII., the firft of the Tudors, gained the throne of England on the field of Bosworth, and mainly by the defection of Lord Stanley from Richard III., who thus turned the fortunes of the day. Perkin Warbeck claimed to be Richard Plantagenet, the younger of the two fons of Edward IV., fuppofed to have been murdered in the Tower of London, but whom he alleged to have efcape. Among thofe accused of complicity with him was Stanley, "the prefervor and raifer of King Henry himfelfe," who was arraigned for high treason, condemned and beheaded. Bacon, *Hift. of Henry VII.*, *Works* i: 347-370. (Montague's edition.) Williams follows the partial judgment of Lord Bacon as to Henry's wifdom, who calling him the "Solomon of England," fays he "was

one of the beft fort of wonders, a wonder for wife men." But Sir James Mackintosh fays, "No generofity lent luftre to his purpofes; no tendernefs softened his rigid nature. His good qualities were ufeful but low; his vices were mean; and no perfon in hiftory of fo much understanding and courage is fo near being defpifed. He was a man of fhrewd difcernment, but of a mean fpirit and a contracted mind." *Hiftory of England*, 205.

² Williams was the firft in this country, if not indeed in England, of thofe who have fince been known as Six-Principle Baptifts, who hold the impofition of hands to be as effential as baptifm for any church fellowfhip. Cf. *Bloudy Tenent*, 21; *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: 65; *Hireling Miniftry*, 6.

With or without the first two, salvation or no salvation. foure last, I beseech you (as you love your lives to *Eternity*) make sure of the two first, and ply (with *Sails* and *Oars*) day and nights, and give not rest to your souls till you have anchored in some blessed *assurance*, that although you find not satisfaction in the many frames of *Churches* pretending; yet that you have saved (as once you know a wife and honorable personage said) the *Bird* in your *Bosome*: and that those your very eyes which have seen so much of Christ Jesus, and so many wonderfull changes, and have been rotten awhile in their holes (in *Death*) shall joyfully possesse, and fill their holes again, and be gloriously blessed with the sight of a *Redeemer*, when these *Heavens* and this *Earth* shal passe away. For which humbly and uncessantly prays

*Your Honours most unworthy,
yet unfainedly devoted,*

Roger Williams.

Your Honours (wanting time to read much) may please to view in a few minutes the *Portraicture* and *Map* of the whole *Bloody Tenent* in the latter end of the last Chapt. Chap. 79.



*To the severall Respective General Courts,
especially that of the Massachusetts in
N. E N G L A N D.*

Honored and beloved Friends and Countreymen,



W^{hile} You sit drie on your safe *American* <sup>N, Eng-
land Priv-
iledge.</sup> *Sboars* (by Gods most gracious *Provi-
dence*) and have beheld the dolefull
tossings of so many of *Europs Nations*,
yea of our dearest *Mother*, aged *Eng-
land*, in a *Sea of Tears* and *Bloud*, I
am humbly bold to present your *Eyes* and *Hearts*
with this (not unseasonable) discourse of *Bloud*, of the
Bloudy Tenents of *Persecution*, *Oppression*, and *Violence*,
in the Cause and matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*.

It is a *Second Conference* of *Peace* and *Truth*, an
Examination of the worthily honoured and beloved
Mr. Cottons Reply to a former *Conference* and *Trea-
tise* of this Subject. And although it concern all <sup>Whole Na-
tions of</sup> *Nations*, which have persecuted and shed the *Bloud* ^{Lyons or}
of *Jesus*, the *Bloudie Roman Empire*, with all the <sup>Persecu-
tors.</sup> *Savage Lyons* thereof, *Emperours* and *Popes*, the
bloudie Monarchies of *Spain* and *France*, and the rest
of *Europs Kingdoms* and *States* (which under their
several *Vizards* and *Pretencss* of *Service to God*, have

*The
Bloudy
Tenent
more espe-
cially con-
cerns
N. E.*

in so many thousands of his *Servants, Murthered* so many thousand times over, his dear *Son*) yea although it concern that *Bloudie Turkish Monarchy*, and all the *Nations* of the *World* who practise violence to the *Conscience* of any *Christian*, or *Anti-christians*, *Jews* or *Pagans*; yet it concerns your selves (with all due respect otherwise be it spoken) in some more eminent degrees: *Partly*, as so many of yours of chief note (beside Mr. Cotton) are engaged in it; partly as *N. England* (in respect of *Spiritual* and *Civil State*) professeth to draw nearer to *Christ Jesus* then other *States* and *Churches*, and partly as *N. England* is believed to hold and practise such a *Bloudie Doctrine*, notwithstanding Mr. Cottons *Vails* and *Pretences* of not *persecuting men for conscience*, but punishing them only for sinning against *conscience*! and of but so and so, not *persecuting*, but *punishing Hereticks, Blasphemers, Idolators, Seducers, &c.*

*The occa-
sion of the
present con-
troverſie.*

It is Mr. Cottons great *mistake* and *forgetfulness*, to charge me with a *publick examination* of his *privat Letter* to me; whereas in Truth, there never passed such *Letters* between himself and me about this Subject; as he alledgeth: But the *Prisoners Arguments* against *Persecution*, with Mr. Cottons *Answer* thereunto (which I examined) I say these were *unexpectedly*, and *solemnly* sent to me, as no *privat* thing, with earnest desire of my *consideration* or *Animadversions* on them.¹

These *Agitations* between Mr. Cotton and others, so sent unto me, as also the *Model* of *Church* and *Civil Power* by *Gods Providence* coming to hand, I

¹ This statement is made more explicitly in Chapter I., *infra*.

say they seem'd to me to be of too too *Publick* a nature: And in which my soul not only heard the dolefull cry of the *souls* under the *Altar* to the *Lord* for *Vengeance*, but their earnest *solicitations*, yea and the command of the *Lord Jesus* for *Vindication* of their *blouds* and lives spilt and destroyed, by this *Bloudie Tenent*, though under never so Fair and Glorious *Shewes* and *Colours*.

The most *holy* and *allseeing* knowes how bitterly I ^{*This Contestation is not with persons, but against their bloody Doctrins and Tenents.*}resent the least *difference* with Mr. Cotton, yea with the least of the *followers* of *Jesus*, of what *conscience* or *worship* soever: How mournfully I remember this *stroke* (as I believe) on Mr. Cottons eye, and the eyes of so many of Gods precious *children* and *servants*, in these and other parts; that those eyes so *peircing* and *heavenly* (in other holy and precious *Truths* of God) should yet be so over-clouded and *bloudshotten* in this: I grieve I must *contest*, and maintain this *contestation* with (in other respects) so dearly *beloved* and so *worthy Adversaries*.

And yet why mention I or respect I man that is but *Grass*, and the children of men that must *die*, whose *Brains*, *Eyes* and *Tongues* (even the *holiest* and the *biggest*) must *shortly sink* and *rot* in their *skuls* and *holes*.

Without remembring therefore who my *Adversarie* is, nor all the *Wormwood* and the *Gall* so frequently in Mr. Cottons Reply against me; I fully and only level with an upright and *single eye* (the *Lord Jesus* graciously assisting) against that fowl and monstrous bloudie *Tenent* and *Doctrin*, which hath so slily (like the old *Serpent* the *Author* of it) crept under the

shade and shelter of Mr. Cottons Patronage and Protection.

*The end
of this
Treatise.*

My end is to discover and proclaim the crying and horrible guilt of the bloudie *Doctrin*, as one of the most *Seditious, Destructive, Blasphemous*, and *Bloudiest* in any or in all the *Nations* of the *World*, notwithstanding the many fine *Vails, Pretences* and *Colours* of not persecuting *Christ Jesus*, but *Hereticks*, not *Gods Truth* or *Servants*, but *Blasphemers, Seducers*: not *Persecuting* men for their *Conscience*, but for sinning against their *Conscience*, &c.

*The cry of
the Lord
Jesus.*

My end is to perswade *Gods Judah* (especially) to wash their hands from *Bloud*, to cleanse their hearts and wayes from such *Unchristian practices*, toward all that is *man*, capable of a *Religion* and a *Conscience*, but most of all toward *Christ Jesus*, who cries out (as he did to *Saul*) in the sufferings of the least of his *Servants*: *Old England, Old England, New England, New England, King, King, Parliaments, Parliaments, General Courts, General Courts, Presbyterians, Presbyterians, Independents, Independents, &c.* Why persecute you me? It is hard for you to kick against the Pricks.

My end is to prepare the *Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus* (what *Truth* soever of his they testifie) for that *great and general* and most *dreadfull slaughter* of the *witnesses*, which *I* cannot but humbly *fear*, and almost *believe*, is near *approaching*, and will be *Ushered* in, *provoak'd* and *hastned* by the *proud security, worldly pomp, fleshly confidence*, and *bloody violences* of *Gods own children*, wofully exercised each against other, and so rendred wofully *ripe* for such an *Universal* and *dreadfull Storm* and *Tempest*!

My end and scope is to put a *Christian barr*, and just ^{A Bar} *and merciful Spoaks* in the *wheels* of such zealous ^{against} *reforming Jebues*, who (under the *Vizard* and *Name* ^{Persecu-} *tion* of *Baals Priests*) may possibly be induced to account it good *service* unto *God*, to kill and burn his precious *Servants*.

My end is, that the greatest *Sons of Bloud* (the *Papists*) may know, when ever (as the *Saints* in *Queen Maries* days confessed) when ever it shall please the jealous *God* for the sins of his *Saints* to turn the *Wheels* of his most deep and holy *Providences*, and to give the *Power* to the *Paw* of the *Beast*, against ^{Or a Testimony} *his Saints* and *Truths*, for their last dreadfull slaughter (as *Daniel* and *John* do clearly seem to tell us)¹ I ^{against it, especially in the} say those *Sons of Bloud*, the *bloudie Papists*, may know, that their *bloudy Doctrin* of *persecution*, was disclaimed by some, whom they call *Sectaries*: That *equall* and *impartiall* favour was pleaded to the *Catholicks*, as well as to their own or other mens *Souls* and *Consciences*: And that if that great *Whore* shall yet proceed not only to drink the wine of their carnal *Jollitie*, in the *Bowles* of the holy *Ordinances* of *Christs Temple* and *Sanctuary*; but also to drink more drunk in the *bloud* of his *Saints* and *witnesses*! This *Testimony* may stand as a *Character* of *Bloud*, fixed by the hand of *Gods* eternal *Truth* and *Peace*, upon the *Gates* ^{Papists.}

¹ "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of bras: which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet: and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, &c. I

beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them." *Daniel*, vii: 19-21.

"And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them." *Revelation*, xi: 7.

*A double
prison, of
prejudice
and Con-
science.*

of their bloudie Courts, and upon the *forehead* of their bloudie Judges, who (under what pretence soever) hunt and persecute the *Souls* and *Consciences* of any Child of God or Man.

My truly honoured and beloved Countrimen, vouchsafe me I beseech you that humane and Christian Libertie to say, that I fear your *Spirits* are lock'd up in a double prison from any serious *Audience* to ought of mine presented to you. The first of *Prejudice* against *such* and *such* a person. The second of *Conscience*, against *such* and *such* a matter; and that while my *Conscience* or another mans faith, Let me be *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, with *Christ Jesus*, with his *Apostles*, *Saints* and *Witnesses*: Let me (for his sake) bear *Frowns*, *Censures*, and *Persecutions*, from men so dear, so excellent, so holy! Your *Consciences* plead for equall *Libertie* of opposing in your way, all such erroneous or wandring *Consciences*.

For answer, It is but *Humanity*, it is but *Christianity* to exercise *meeknesse* and *moderation* to all men: It is humane and Christian *Wisdom* to listen to a serious *Alarm* against a *Common Enemy*: Prove the *Alarm* false, it may be but troublesome: Prove it true, it may be *Destruction* to have despised it.

As the wounds of a *Lover* are better then the *Kisses* of an *Enemy*: So faith the same *Spirit*, an open *Rebuke* is better then secret *Love*. [*Proverbs*, xxvii: 5.]

*2 Founda-
mentall
Hints
against
Persecu-
tion.*

But yet your *Consciences* (as all mens) must be satisfied, I have therefore in all these *Agitations* humbly presented (amongst others) two *Foundamental Hints* or *Considerations*.

First that the *People* (the *Original* of all free *Power*

and Government) are not invested with *Power* from *Christ Jesus*, to rule his *Wife* or *Church*, to keep it *pure*, to punish *Opposites* by force of *Armes*, &c.

Secondly, that the *Pattern* of the *National Church* of *Israel*, was a *None-such*, unimitable by any *Civil State*, in all or any of the *Nations* of the *World* beside : In this latter hint I insisted more largely in my former *Considerations* upon *Church* and *Civil Power* in *N. E.*¹ unto which *Mr. Cotton* replied not (and of any other *Replies* of any (to whom *Mr. Cotton* refers it) do I yet not know of:)

I Add, it is a glorious *Character* of every true *Disciple* or *Scholler*² of *Christ Jesus*, to be never too *old* to *learn*.

It is the *Command* of *Christ Jesus* to his *Schollars*, to try all things: And *Libertie* of trying what a *Friend*, yea what an (esteemed) *Enemie* presents, hath ever (in point of *Christianity*) proved one especiall means of attaining to the *truth* of *Christ*.

For I dare confidently *appeal* to the *consciences* of *Gods* most *knowing servants*, if that *observation* be not true, to wit, that it hath been the common way of the *Father* of *Lights*, to inclose the *Light* of his holy *Truths*, in dark and obscure, yea and ordinarily in *Libertie of trying forbidden Books, forbidden Books, persons and Meetings*, by *Sathan* stiled *Conventicles*.

New English Voyages, have taught most of our *Old*

¹ *Bloudy Tenent*, Chap. cx-cxii. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: 317-324.

² "First, as to the name *Schollar*, although as to *humane learning*, many wayes lawfull, yet as it is appropriated to such as practise the Ministry have been at the *Univerfitie* (as they say) It is

a *sacrilegious* and theevish title, robbing all *beleevers* and *Saints*, who are frequently in the Testament of *Christ*, stiled *Disciples* or *Schollars* of *Christ Jesus*, and only they as *Beleevers*." *Hireling Ministry*, 14.

English spirits, how to put due prices upon the most common and ordinary *undervalued mercies*; how precious with some hath been a little *water*? how dainty with others a piece of *bread*: How welcome to some the poorest *housing*? Yea the very *Land* and *Earth*, after long and tedious passages?

New Eng-
lands Les-
sons.

There is one *commoditie* for the sake of which most of *Gods children* in *N. England* have run their mighty *hazards*; a *commoditie* marvellously *scarce* in former times (though in some late years by *Gods* most gracious and mighty hand more *plentifull*) in our *native Countrey*: It is a *Libertie* of searching after *Gods* most holy *mind* and *pleasure*.

Liberty of
searching
out Truth,
hardly got,
and as
hardly
kept.

Jan le
petit.

Out of this most precious and invaluable *Jewel*, if you suffer *Sathan* (that grand *thief* and *cheater* to bereave you, and that it shall be a *crime*, humbly and peaceably to question even *Lawes* and *Statutes*, or what ever is even publickly taught and delivered, you will most certainly find your selves after all your long *Run* (like that little *Frenchman* who kill'd the *Duke of Guise*, and was taken next morning neare the place from whence he had fled upon a swift horie all night)¹ I say you will most certainly find your selves, but where you were, *enslav'd* and *captivated* in the *Chains* of those *Popish Darkneses*, [to wit, *Ignorance* is the *mother* of *Devotion*, and we must believe as the *Church* believes, &c.]

Remember therefore (O ye the *Cream* and *Flower* of *English Plantations* in *America*) what a black and

¹ Francis, Duke of Guise, was killed before Orleans by Jean de Poltrot, or Poltrot de Mérey, a Huguenot, February 24, 1563. The assassin on a swift

horse escaped to the neighboring woods and after wandering all night was apprehended the next morning. Davila, *Civil Wars of France*, i: 148.

direfull a *cole* it was with which it pleased the Spirit of God in *Habacuck*, to brand the *Assirian* Monarchie, to wit [a *Bitter* and *hastie Nation*]¹ but in the *spirit* of *meeknesse*, in the *meeknesse* of *wisdom*, be pleased to remember that possible it is for *Gods* *visible*, only people in the *world* to have very foul and bloudie hands, full of *Bloud* (*Isa.* 1.)! [15.] To build up *Zion* and *Jerusalem* (that is, to erect the *Visible Church* and *Kingdom* of God) with *Bloud* (*Mic.* 3.) [10.] and with *Iniquitie*: That the *Heads* and *Judges* of *Gods* *People*, may judge for a *reward* (and the deceitfull heart of man graspeth at *rewards* more then of one fort) that the *Priests* and *Prophets* thereof may *teach* and *Prophecie* (and it may be frequently and excellently, but yet for) an *hire* and for *money*; And that yet their *consciencs* may lean upon *Jehovah*, and they may say with *confidence*, is not the *Lord* amongst us? None evil shall come unto us; &c. O remember that your *Gifts* are rare, your *Professions* of *Religion* (in such way) rare, your *Persecutions* and *hidings* from the storms abroad, rare and wonderfull: So in proportion your *Transgressions*, estate and publick sins cannot but be of a rare and extraordinary *Guilt*: Nor will *New England's* sorrowes (when sins are ripe and full) be other then the *Dregs* of *Germanie's*, of *Ireland's*, of *England's*, and of *Scotland's* Tears and Calamities.

Amongst the crying sins of our own or other sinfull Nations: those two are ever amongst the lowdest, to wit, *Invented Devotions* to the God of Heaven. Secondly, *Violence* and *Oppression* on the Sons of men

¹ "For lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation." *Habakkuk*, i: 6.

2 of the
loudest
State-cry-
ing sins.

(especially (if his sons) for dissenting, and against both these, and that the *impartial* and *dreadfull hand* of the most holy and *jealous God* (a *consuming fire*) tear and burn not up at last the Roots of these Plantations, but graciously discovering the Plants which are not his, he may graciously fructifie and cause to flourish what his *Right hand* will own: I say this is the humble and and unfeigned desire and cry (at the *Throne of Grace*) of your so long despised Out-cast:

ROGER WILLIAMS.



To the Merciful and Compassionate READER.



Vile the unmercifull *Priests* and *Levites* *Soul* turn away their cruel *Eyes* and *Feet* ^{wounds,} ^{the deepest.} from their poor wounded *neighbours* (the oppressed for matters of *Religion* and *Worship*) it will be no ingratefull act to present thy tender *heart* and *Ear* (*Compassionate Samaritane*) with the dolefull cry of the *Souls* under the *Altar* [How long *Lord* before thou avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the *Earth*]¹ and to pray thy mournfull view of the *Akeldemae's* and *fields* of *Blood*, where thousands and ten thousand times ten thousands of the pretious *Saints* (*Servants* and *Witnesses* of *Jesus*) lie slaughtered in their bloudie *Gore*, in all *Ages* and in all *Nations*, where the *Trumpet* of the *Son* of *God* hath sounded :

Here and there among these slaughtered heaps of *Saints* lie (thin and rare) the slaughtered *Carkasses* of some poor *Arrians* or *Papists*, or other poor *delud-*

¹ "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" *Revelation*, vi: 9, 10.

The Akeldamaes, or fields of Bloud, caused by the Bloudy Tenent of Persecution. ing and deluded souls: This seeming colour of Impartial Justice serves (wofully) that murtherous enemy of all Mankind for a *Stale*¹ or *Covert* under which his bloudie Game goes on, of persecuting (or hunting) the harmless *Deer*, the children of the living God.

For the sake then of the dear *Saints* and *Followers* of *Jesus*, for his holy sake and *Truth*, for the holy name and *Truth* of the most holy *Father* of *Lights*, the *God* of it, thy compassionate eye is here presented with a *Second Conference* and view of *Mr. Cottons Reply*, and artificial bloudie washing of the *Bloudie Tenent*.

Michael, the son of God, and Sathan the red Dragon, the two great Generals. The *Battel* about any *Truth* of *God* in *Christ*, is fought and managed by that most high and glorious *Michael* the *Arch-Angel* and *Son* of *God*, attended with all his *Holy Angels*, the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of his *Truth* on the one side: On the other side by that great red *Dragon*,² whose bloudie *Followers*, *Devils* and men of all sorts and *Nations*, but especially the *Roman* bloudie *Emperor*, and *Roman Popes* (with *Lyon-like Furie*, and *Fox-like craft*) have suck'd the *Bloud* and broke the *Bones*, and devoured the *Flesh* of so many hundred thousand, thousands of the *King* of *Kings* his spiritual *Hinds* and *Roes*³ in this their bloudie hunting: So that aptly (I had almost said *Prophetically*) wrote one of their own *Roman Poets* of the lamentable condition of the *harmlesse Deer* above other *Creatures*: *Dente tuetur Aper*,

¹ A decoy.
² "Still as he went, he craftie *stales* did lay,
 With cunning traynes him to entrap un-
 wares."—Spenser, *Færie Queene*, B.
 II., C. I., § 4.

² "There was war in heaven: *Michael*
 and his angels fought against the dragon;
 and the dragon fought and his angels and
 prevailed not." *Revelation*, xii: 7.

³ *Song of Solomon*, ii: 7.

*defendunt, Cornua Taurum, Imbelles Damæ quid nisi Præda sumus?*¹

'Tis a lamentable and cruell fight to see the sons of one poor man and woman, (all the Globe of the world over (like *Babels* builders) so vastly disagreeing about a *God* and his *Worship*.

'Tis lamentable to see these one *Mans* sons *Murdered* and *Massacred* (in mutual slaughters) as for other pretended *Causes*: So this especially of *Conscience* and *Religion*.

'Tis yet more lamentable and never enough to be lamented, that while the *Sons of Men* do but their *kind!* the *Sons of God*, the *sons of the God of Peace*, the *Lillies*, *Doves* and *Spouses of Jesus* should thus discord and jarr about this *Christ* their *hope!* that (like the very *Turks* and *Persians* contending about their *Mahomet* his *Succeffors*) the *Children of God* should tear out each others *Throats* about the last *Will* and *Testament* of the *Son of God* their elder brother: That *Ephraim* should be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah*; yet all sons of one, and professors of one *God of Israel*.

But oh the low and shallow comprehensions of the sons of men, who as a *Rotten thing* (saith *Job*) [xiii. 28.] consumeth: Oh the *depths* of the *Councils* and

¹ Dente timentur apri; defendunt cornua cervos:

Imbelles damæ quid, nisi præda, sumus?—Martial, *Epigr. Lib. xiii*: 94.

"The tusk, the Boar: Harts, horns defend, to all

We naked Does, prey undefended, fall." Wright, *Bohn's Martial*, p. 600.

² "They shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh; and they together shall be against Judah." *Isaiah*, ix: 20, 21.

The Israelites divided. workings of the most *High*, most *Holy*, and only *wise*, outshooting all the *Generations* of men, who hear and know no more then *Jonathans* Lad, Is not the Arrow beyond thee? &c. [*1 Samuel*, xx: 37.]

Joseph sold by his brethren. His holy *Wisdom* hath an heavenly *Reason* (to touch a little upon this *sorrowfull string*) of that bloudie *Device* and *Sale* of innocent *Joseph* by his own *Brethren*, the sons of one *Israel* and *God*. [*Genesis*, xxxvii: 18–28.]

Israel force Aaron to make them Gods. He knowes why so holy a *Leader* of such a *miraculous People* (as I may truly call them) why *Aaron* (I say) was so left to the horrible, ungratefull, and outrageous importunities of this (then the only) *People of God*, as to frame a *Beastly worship*, and to turn the most glorious and dreadfull *Godhead* into the similitude of a *Beast* that eateth grasse. [*Exodus*, xxxii: 1–6.]

Israels murmurings. He knowes why the *Israel of God* (*Rebels*, as *Moses* passionately called them) should so often grieve the holy *Spirit of God* with their *murmurings*, and be so near to dash out the brains of their most faithfull *Leaders*. [*Numbers*, xiv: 1–5; xvi: 41.]

Aaron and Miriam against Moses. He knowes why two *Parts* or *Angles* of that Heavenly *Triangle* (*Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Miriam* so neer in *Earthly* and *Heavenly Relations*) I say why that rare *Pair*, *Aaron* and *Miriam* should yet envie and mutiny against their so dear a *Brother*, and so meek and heavenly a *Ruler*, *Moses*. [*Numbers*, xii.]

An Armie of 32000 Israelites strunk into 300. His heavenly wisdom hath a reason of that wonderfull Shrinking of an *Army* of 32 thousand *Israelites*, into one poor 300 left behind, and found only fit for *Gods battels* against the *Midianits*. [*Judges*, vi.–vii.]

A reason why those two famous *Champions*, *Samson* and *David* should find so great discouragement to their fighting of *Gods Battels*, the men of *Judah* basely binding *Samson*, and the chief of *Dauids* own *Brethren* flying in his face with open Railings. [*Judges* xv: 9-13; 1 *Samuel*, xvii: 28.]

Samson and David discouraged by their own brethren.

A reason of that all most utter consumption of one whole *Tribe* of *Israels* 12. by the furious flames of the *Zeal* and *Indignation* of the eleven. [*Judges*, xx.]

Benjamin almost destroyed by the 11 Tribes.

These things happened not by *chance*, but as the *Apostle* speaks in *Types* (in curious and wonderfull figures) so that his holy wisdom knowes: why *Israel* must be so weary of *Samuel* and himself, and (like the *Nations* of the *World*) must have a *King* to be their *Champion* and fight their *Battels*: [1 *Samuel*, viii.]

Israels rejecting of Samuel & the Lord himself.

Why *Saul* this desired *King*, the *King* of *Gods* own choice and *Israels*, why yet he must hunt an innocent *David*, as a *Flea* in the bosom, or a *Partridge* on the mountains, until he hath slain himself to set the *Crown* on *Dauids* head. [1 *Samuel*, xxvi: 20.]

Saul persecuting David.

A reason of that long continued *Faction* of so many *Tribes* against this *Dauids* Crown, and that *Israel* (so importunate, so impatient for a *King*) should now powre out each others blood about a *Successor*, whether a *David*, or (the son of *Persecution*, *Saul*) *Isbbofeth*. [2 *Samuel*, ii.-iv.]

Isbbofeth and Israel against David and Judah.

A reason (when *David* wears both Crowns in one, and hath all that a most gracious *God* could espie out fit for *David* to receive, that yet he wants a wife that had so many, and rather then a *Dauids* sinfull Desires and Whoredomes shall want a Covering, the blood

David slaying Uriah with his Pen.

of *Uriah* (that is *fire* or *zeal* of *God*) shall die and make up one to cover them. [2 *Samuel*, xi : 15.]

O the *Depths* of the *Councils* of the holy one of *Israel* why (there being but 12 *Tribes* in all) 10 *Tribes* of his own people should tear away from 2, and after many *Captivities* of the one and the other, both the one and the other now are scattered from each other upon the face of the *Earth*, and as yet no certain *Tidings* what's befalln to the 10 *Tribes* of the *Israel* of *God*. [1 *Kings*, xii : 16–20 ; 2 *Kings*, xviii : 9–12.]

He knowes why to leave an upright perfect *Aſae's* heart to ſuch folly and wrath, as to lay a Faithfull *Prophet* (admoniſhing him from *God*) by the heels. [2 *Chronicles*, xvi : 7–10.]

Yea, why the *Followers* of the meek *Lamb* of *God*, ſhould burn in ſuch *Unchriſtian Flames*, as to call for fire from *Heaven* to conſume the *contemners* and *deſpiſers* of their *Lord* and *Maſter*, who quencheth the fire of their raſh *zeal* with this mild *Check*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of. [Luke, ix : 54–55.]

Why ſuch *πικρία* (*Bitterneſſe* as the Word is) ſhould riſe between two *Turtle Doves*, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and that about their moſt laborious and moſt dangerous *Minifteries*. [Acts, xvi : 39.]

Why one cries *Paul*, another *Apollo*, another *Cephas*, another *Chriſt*, even in the firſt eſtabliſhed *Churches*. [1 *Cor.*, i : 12.]

This holy *Plot*, this heavenly *deſigne* of the moſt holy and only wiſe *God*, thus to permit the *contentions* and *diviſions* of his own *Servants*, as it diſplaies

Himself only Perfect and Excellent, and all (the best of) men in all *Ages*, but *farthing-candles*, yea *smoking Firebrands*: As it brightly proves the admirable consent and *Angelical Harmony* of the holy *Scripture*, relating *Histories*, and in those *Histories* infolding *Prophecies*, fulfill'd before mens daily view thousands of years after: As it makes us see our spiritual *Povertie* and *Beggary*, and infinit need of *Mercy* and *Grace*, and *Peace* from *Heaven*, and drives us to continual *Prayers* and *cries*, for mercifull supplies from thence! As it disrelisheth this present sweetest life, yea the very life of *Spiritual Love*, in the Communion of the Saints of *God* themselves, if compared with the most pure and spiritual and absolute *Joyes* and *Life* approaching.

So doth this heavenly *Council* of the most *High*, abundantly stop the mouths of all *malicious*, who (although they delight to scratch their *Athenian Itch* of hearing *Novelties*,¹ *new things*,² *Newes*, yet) stumble they at this stumbling-block of *Novelties*, *new Churches*, *new Ministers*, *new Discipline*, *new Baptism*, *new Light*: The ancient of days (say they) the *God* of *Peace* and *Love* cannot be in such *Divisions*: The old *Bishops* were better, the old *Popes* themselves more tolerable.

But this is but the barking of *malice* against *Gods* holyness which his true servants desire to partake of! Against *Gods Truth*, which his servants must contend for, (yea though it be one against another) against *Gods Councils* who hath so laid his holy *pro-*

¹ "Having itching ears." 2 *Tim.* iv: 3. in nothing else, but either to tell or to
² "For all the Athenians spent their time hear some new thing." *Acts*, xvii: 21.

ject, that what he now sets out in a clear *Light* and fairer *Print*, is the very same (had we inlightned eyes to see it (with the old *edition* of former times, more dark and rude in *Ceremonies*, *Types*, and figures.

*Various
affections of
Readers
expected.*

I cannot but foresee *variety* of divers *Passions* and *Affections*, in a *Variety* of *Beholders* of this present *Controversie*: Some will please themselves and their *curiosities* in the *Noveltie* of such discourses: some will rejoice to see the light appear, and yet mourn in the lamentable differences of such who profess the same *God* and *Christ* about it: Some will be angry and cry out of *Blasphemy* against their *Gods*, their *Bellies*, and their *Titles*, &c. Some will fear disturbances of the *Civil*, and some of the *Spiritual peace* and *Christianity*: Yet some will truly desire to search and know the will of *God*, humbly desirous to do it on earth, as the *Angels* doe it in heaven.

*The Model
of N. Eng-
lish Church
and Civil
Power.*

The *Courteous Reader* may please to see, that in the first Conference of Peace and Truth, there was Discusst, a Modell of *New English Church* and *Civill Power*, which Mr. *Cotton* in his Reply waved and referred to others of the *New English Elders* to Reply unto, which whether they have so done as yet I have not heard:

*Of Mr.
Cottons
Reply to
the Answer
to his Let-
ter.*

Together with Mr. *Cottons* Reply to the *Bloudy Tenent*, there was also added a Reply of Mr. *Cotton* to an Answer of his Letter: The Examination of this Reply I desired, and intended should have been here presented; But the streights of time (being constantly drunk up by necessary Labours for bread for many depending on me, the discharge of Engage-

ments, and wanting helps of transcribing) I say the streights of time were such, that the Examination of that Reply could not together with this, be fitted for Publick view, though with the Lords assistance will not delay to follow.¹

Touching Mr. Cotton I present two words: First for his Person, Secondly for his Work.

For his Person, although I rejoyce that since it pleased God to lay a Command on my Conscience to come in as his poor Witnesse in this great Cause: I say I rejoyce it hath pleased him to appoint so able, and excellent, and Conscionable an Instrument to bolt out the Truth to the bran: So I can humbly say it in his holy presence, it is my constant heaviness and souls grief as to differ from any fearing God; so much more ten thousand times from Mr. Cotton, whom I have ever desired and still desire highly to esteem, and dearly to respect, for so great a portion of mercy and grace vouchsafed unto him, and so many Truths of Christ Iesus maintained by him. And therefore (notwithstanding that some (of no common Judgement and respect to him, have said, that he wrote his washing of the Bloudie Tenent in Bloud against Christ Iesus, and Gall against me, yet) if upon so slippery and narrow a passage I have slipit [slipt] (notwithstanding my constant resolution to the contrary) into any *Tearm* or *Expression* unbeseeming his Person, or the Matter (the cause of the most high in

¹ The Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination, &c., was printed in the same volume with *The Bloudy Tenent Washed*, with separate paging. It is reprinted in *Pub. Narr. Club*, ii. Williams's intention to publish an "Examination of that

Reply" was probably never carried out. It may have been arrested by Cotton's death, which took place Dec. 23, 1652, not long after the issue of this book.

The error in the title at the top of this page will be noticed.

hand considered) I humbly crave pardon of *God*, and *Mr. Cotton* also.

Secondly concerning his Work, I call to mind a speech of one of eminent Note in *N. England* (observing a disposition in men for one man to deifie another, and that some of no small note had said they could hardly believe that *God* would suffer *Mr. Cotton* to err) the Speech was this [I fear that *God* may leave *Mr. Cotton* to some great error, that men may see he is a man] &c.

A memorable Speech touching Mr. Cotton.

But concerning his Work, the observant Reader will soon discover, that whatever *Mr. Cottons* Stand is, yet he most weakly provides himself of very strange Reserves, and Retreats: to point with the finger at 2 or 3 most frequent and remarkable.

The strange retreats Mr. Cotton makes in this controversy.

First when he seems to be overwhelmed with the lamentable and doleful cries of the Souls under the Altar, crying out for *Vengeance* on their *Persecutors* that dwell upon Earth! He often retreats, and professeth to hold no such Doctrin of persecuting the *Saints*, no nor of any for cause of Conscience, nor that the Magistrate should draw forth his Sword in matters of *Religion*.

The roaring of Lyon like persecution, pag.

When it is urged that through this whole Book he Persecutes or Hunts (by name) the *Idolater*, the *Blasphemer*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer*, and that to Death or Banishment: and amongst other Expressions useth this for one [If there be stones in the streets, the Magistrate need not run for a Sword to the Smiths shop, nor to the Ropier for an Halter to punish *Hereticks*,¹ &c.] *Mr. Cotton* retreats into the

¹ *Bloody Tenent Washed*, Chapter 68, p. 156.

Land of *Israel*, and calls up *Moses* and his Laws against *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c.

When he is Challenged (and that by his own frequent confession in his Book) for producing the Pattern of a *National Church* when he stands only for a Congregationall! for producing that national church of *Israel*, so miraculous, so typical, as a Copie or Samplar for the Nations and Peoples of the World (who have no such miraculous and Typicall respect upon them) Mr. *Cotton* retreats to *Moral Equity*, that the *Seducer* and he that kills a Soul should die.

When it is urged that *Christ Iesus* at his so long typed out coming, abolished those *National shadows*, and erected his *Spiritual Kingdom* of *Israel*, appointed ^{The strange reluctancies of the} Spiritual Officers, Punishments, &c. and that those ^{Lamb like spirit of} Scriptures, *Tit.* 3. [10.] against the *Hereticks*; and *Rev.* 2. [14. 20.] against *Baalam* and *Iezabel* prove only a ^{Mr. Cotton forced to against the Perfe-} spiritual death and cutting off from *Christ Iesus* his holy land of life and peace, his church & kingdom.

Mr. *Cotton* retreats and confesseth *Christs Kingdom* is spiritual, not national, but congregational, and that those Scriptures hold forth a *Spiritual cutting off*, and he so produceth them to prove the *heretick* so to be cut off, alledging that the question was put in general tearms, that he knew not what *Persecution* should be intended, and that an unjust excommunication is as fore a persecution as an unjust banishment. When he is urged with the nature of the consciences (even of all men to God or Gods in their worships, he professeth that he is wronged, & that he doth not hold that any man should be persecuted for his conscience, but for sinning against his con-

science. When al the consciences in the world cry out against him for setting up the *civil power & officers*, and *Courts of civill Iustice*, to judge of the *conviction* of mens *souls* and *consciences*! Mr. Cotton retreats to his last refuge, and saith that although this be the duty of all the Magistrates in the *world*, yet not any of them must meddle to punish in *Religion*, untill they be informed which is (upon the point) untill he is sure they will draw their swords for his Conscience, Church, &c. against all other as heretical, blasphemous.¹

Monstrous partiality, as touching the Magistracy.

The monstrous *Partiality* of such *suspending*, &c. of *hanging up* all the Magistrates in the world, (except a few of his own *perswasion*) and that from so *principall* and *main* a part of their *Office*, and that so many *thousands* in the *Nations* of the *world* all the *world* over, and that *constantly* and *perpetually* all their dayes. If it please the most *jealous* and righteous God to hide it (I say the *monstrousnesse* of such a *Suspension*) from Mr. Cottons eyes, yet *thousand* and *ten thousands* will behold and wonder at it.

But (fearing to exceed in discourse at [the] *dore*) let every mercifull and compaſſionate *Reader* freely enter in, and search the inmost *Rooms* and *Closets*.

If thou truly love the *Truth* and *Peace*, thou art too neer of kin to the *Prince* of *Peace* and *Truth* it self, long to escape the *Hunters*. If the *fourty two moneths* of the *Beasts* reign, and the *two hundred and threescore dayes* of the *propheſie* of the *Witnesses* of *the Witnesſes*, *Jesus* in *Sackcloth* be expired: yet I fear the three *10. [13. 5]* dayes and a halfe of the greatest *slaughter* of the *Wit-*

¹ *The Bloody Tenent Washed*, Chaps. xiii. lv.

nesses is not over : Yet fear not what must be suffered, although the Devill cast (not onely some, but) all *Christs Witnesses* into *Prison* : yea, although he murder and fling out the *Karkasses* of the Saints to *shame* and *injury*, yet the mighty *Spirit* of *God* will raise them on their feet again, and into heavenly *glory*, out of this shame shall they ascend in the sight of their bloody enemies.

How many and how various are the *Disputings*, &c. about what should be this *three dayes* and a *halfes calamity* ? How many hope this storm is over ? how many fear it is now a breeding ? Yet why should we fear so short a draught (though) of a bitter *Cup*, when tempered by the gracious hand of an Heavenly Father, begun by so dear an *Elder Brother*, so sweet a *Saviour* ? The *Revelations* of *John*, and the *Revelations* of *Gods* wonderfull *Providences*, seem to proclaim wonderfull and dreadfull *Discoveries* of the Son of *God* approaching. And it is as sure as that there is a Lord *Jesus Christ*, that *God* will subdue all his enemies, that he will shortly break (and make all his followers tread on) the proudest *Necks* born up this day in the world, even the grandest *Seigniories* of the *Turkish* and *Popish* Empires, the two so mighty opposers of the Son of *God*. And it is not improbable, both their *ruines* and *downfall* must be from some top and *pinacle* of glorious *prosperity* and furious outrage against their (Antichristian and Christian) enemies.

The chiefest *European enemies* of the All devouring *Turk* (though all that bear the name of *Christ* are his enemies) are more especially the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, the King of *Spain* and the *Venetians*, by

Christ
Jesus shortly
ruining
the two
dreadfull
Empires of
the bloody
Turk and
Pope.

The *Turks*
foremost ene-
mies in
Euope.

whom *Christ Jesus* (probably) will dash that mighty *Empire* into pieces, as he seems to have prophesied of old by his servant *Daniel*: yet probably, as I said before, this *downfall* must be from some more eminent height of *Turkish* bloody *pride* and *glory*, which that blasphemous and bloody Monarchy shall immediately before attain unto.

*The Popes
forest ene-
mies.*

The forest enemies of the *Roman Popes*, are the *witnesses* of the *Truths* of *Jesus*, whom he hath not left himself without, during the 42 *moneths* of the *reign* of this mighty and dreadful *Beast*. Against these blessed *followers* of the *Lamb* must (probably) the rage of this bloody *Beast* rise high in that his great *slaughter* of them and *triumph* three days and an half over them, (*Rev.* 11.) [9. 11.] and this not long before his own *eternall downfall*.

Many have been the *Interpretations* of that prophesie, and some late *Applications* of the *witnesses* and *Time* to particular *persons* and *Times* of late. But (with all due respect to the *Apprehensions* of any studious of the truth of *Jesus*) I conceive the matter is of a more *generall consideration*.

For in all that *world* over that wondred after the *Beast*, hath *Christ Jesus* raised up a *Generation* or kind of *Witnesses* bearing *testimony* against him. This *witnessse* (more or lesse) to the severall *Truths* of *Jesus*, he hath been pleased to maintain, before and since *Luthers* time, especially: The *finishing* of the *Testimony* must (probably) be *generall*, not only in *England*, but in the rest of the *Protestant Nations*; which *finishing* of the *witnessse* (probably) wil consist in the matters of the *purity* of his *worship*, and the *Govern-*

ment of the Lord Jesus in his own holy Appointments and Institutions. The slaughter of these witnesses must also (probably) be generall, and in the three dayes and half triumph over them generall: upon which follows that most glorious and generall rising of the witnesses unto their glory promised, Rev. 11. [11. 12.]

I confess in this plea for freedom to all Consciences ^{Freedom of Con-} in matters (meerly) of worship, I have impartially ^{science in} pleaded for the freedom of the consciences of the Pa- ^{worship} pists themselves, the greatest enemies and persecutors ^{due even} (in Europe) of the Saints and Truths of Jesus: Yet I ^{to the Pa-} have pleaded for no more then is their due and right, ^{pists them-} and (what ever else shall be the Consequent) it shall ^{selves.} stand for a monument and testimony against them, and ^{See Chap.} be an aggravation of their former, present, or future cruelties against Christ Jesus the Head, and all that uprightly love him, his true Disciples and Followers.

It is true, I have not satisfaction in the clear discovery of those holy Prophecies & Periods set down and prefixed by the holy Spirit in Daniel, John, &c. concerning the Kingdom of Christ Jesus: Yet two things I profess in the holy presence of God, Angels and Men.

First, my humble Desires and Resolution (the Lord assisting) to contend for the true and visible worship of the true and living God, according to the Institution and Appointment of the last will and Testament of Christ Jesus.

2. I beleieve and profess, that such persons, such Churches are got neereſt to Christ Jesus, on whose forehead are written these blessed characters of the

true *Lord Jesus Christ*; First, content with a poor and low condition in worldly things. 2. An holy *cleansing* from the *filthines* of *false worships* and *worldly conversations*. 3. An humble and constant *endeavour* to attain (in their *simplicity & purity*) to the *Ordinances* and *appointments* of *Christ Jesus*. 4. Are so far from smiting, killing, and wounding the *Opposites* of their *profession* and *worship*, that they resolve themselves patiently to bear and carry the *Cross* and *Gallows* of their *Lord and Master*, and patiently to suffer with him. In the number of such his poor servants who as unfeignedly desire (notwithstanding my plea against *Persecutors* and *Persecution*) I say as unfeignedly desire to suffer as *cheerfully* with *Christ Jesus*, as *gloriously* to *reign* with him, desires to be,

Thine unfeigned, though unworthiest
of all the Followers of JESUS.

Roger Williams.



The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody,
By Master Cottons attempting to wash
it with the Blood of the Lambe.

Examination of CHAP. I.

Truth.



Lest be the *God of truth and peace* (*sweet peace*) that once againe, we finde a *corner* and a few *hours* to entertaine our sweet *embraces* and *discourses* about that *Bloody Tenent of Persecution* for cause of conscience.

Peace.

It is indeed *Jehovah's* work, and it is marvellous in our eyes, that 'midst this worlds *combustions*, such a *corner* and such *hours* are found.

Truth. Dear *friends*, the longer absent, meet the *Truth & sweeter*; and have cause to spend each minute to his praise, who wonders works, and this not the least, that we *two* see each others face at all in these tempestuous dayes and *vale of tears*. *peace rarely meet in this vale of tears.*

2] How harshly were our last *conferrings* entertained by some? How were our selves suspected, and traduced for *counterfeits*; and our pious and peaceable *Meditations*, cruelly condemned to the devouring *flames*?

Truth. That ever was our *portion*, ever since the *earthen pots* arose against their glorious *Potter*; and no better *lot* we must expect, while the *time* doth last that is determined.

Many dear
Saints of
God plead
for perse-
cution: Oh
how right-
eous is it
with God
to send
them per-
secution!

Peace. Mean while tis yet our *lamentation*, that so many of our *darlings*, whom we have tendred as our *eyes*, have both in *Print* and *Pulpit*, cried out against us; and amongst the rest, one of thy dearest eldest *children*, (too too worthy to be) the *defender* of the *Bloody Tenent* of Persecution.

Truth. Our *love* shall cover his shame and *nakedness*; and our *wisdoms* pity his heavy labour, *Blackamore-washings*, and so great expence of precious *time* and *spirit*, in labouring to wash this so deeply bloody, and *Blackamore-Tenent*, in the blood of the *Lamb* of God.

Peace. So *parents* and true friends love and pity theirs, though sick, though froward and distracted; and let our *Bowels* yearne over him, who teares out *ours*: who knows but once before he sleep his last, in the pit of rottenness, he may awake and give *glory* to the *God* of *peace* and *truth*, of *patience* and *long suffering*; whose *thoughts*, whose *wayes*, whose *love*, whose *pity* hath no *bounds*, nor *limits*, toward them whom he hath loved before the *worlds foundation*.

¹ His previous work had been burned, as he says, "by the Presbyterian party (then prevailing.)" Letter to John Cotton, Jr. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, March, 1858. See also *Necessity of Toleration, &c.*, in *Traacts on Liberty of Conscience*, p. 270. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: xiii.

O let these blessed *buds*, of *hope* and sweet *desires* (dear Truth) put forth in pious fruits of renewed endeavors, and let me once againe prefer my fuit for your impartial weighing of what *replies*, *objections*, *pleadings*, he hath brought against us.

Truth. For the God of Peace, for the Prince of Peace his sake, yea for his *servants* sake, for Zions sake, I will not be silent, and know (at last) I shall prevaile to scatter and dispell the *mists* and *fogs*, that for a while arise to cloud and choak us.

Peace. First, then, what cause should move this so able a *defendant* to leap over all our first *addressees* both to the high Court of *Parliament*, and to every *Reader*? and what may be conjectured, why himself directs a word to neither in this *controversie*? Quere why Master Cotton leaps over the Epistles to the Parliament and Reader.

Truth. I desire my *Rejoynder* may be as full of love as truth; [3] yet some say Master Cotton is wise, and knows in what *door* the wind blows of late; he is not ignorant what sad *complaints* in *letters*, *printings*, *conferences*, so many of Gods *people* (and of his own *conscience* and *judgement* of *Independency*) have poured forth against *New Englands* persecuting, &c. He knows what *Bars* *New Englands* bloody *Tenent* and *practice* may put to his *brethrens* just *desires* and *suits* for *moderation* and *toleration*, to *non-conforming consciences*. N.E. Persecution guilty of the persecution in old, especially (since this Rejoynder) by their Law for Banishing such as hold not childrens Baptisme, and their late four-score and ten bloody

Tis true, his *conscience*, and the *credit* of his *way*, compels his *reply*, but the *times* advise him, with as little noise as may be, and it seems with no great willingness, that that high and *searching house* of *Englands Parliament* should search and scan his *Meditations*.

*lashes to
the body of
the Lord
Jesus in
the suffer-
ings of his
faithful
witness,
Obadiah
Holmes at
Boston,
merely
about that
point of
Baptisme.¹*

Peace. Well, if the name of *God* were truly called upon them and (as his *title* intimateth) the great *con-*
troversies of these present *times* are herein handled;
 If all that is here presented be truly *practised*; and
 he desire to buy and sell by one *measure*, and to be
 no otherwaies *measured* unto, then he *measureth* unto
 others: why should not that renowned *Court* be
 more particularly and expressly attended with so high
 and needful examinations? But now enough of that,
 I long to see that weighed, which is presented, take
 up those holy *weights* of thine, which may faithfully

¹ November 13, 1644, a law had been passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in the following terms: "It is ordered and agreed that if any person or persons within the jurisdiction shall either openly condemne or oppose the baptising of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or the use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy or their lawful right or authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the Court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment." *Mass. Col. Records*, ii: 85.

The case of Obadiah Holmes had been fully made known in England by John Clarke, Williams's colleague, who published his *All Newes from New England*, according to Mr. Savage's notes (3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* viii: 287), May 13, 1652. That work contains a letter from Holmes to Baptists in London giving his account of his offence and its punishment. 4

Mass. Hist. Coll., ii: 45-52. Holmes was a man of character and importance. He was probably of good family, as he states himself that three of the sons were "brought up at the university in Oxford." Backus, *Hist. of Baptists*, i: 208. He was for six or seven years a member of the Church in Salem, and in 1645 went to Rehoboth. Here he withdrew from the Congregational church and became a Baptist, and was presented to the General Court at Plymouth, June 4, 1650, for "continuing a meeting upon the Lord's-day from house to house" with eight others. *Plymouth Records*, ii: 162. He immediately took refuge in Newport. In July of the next year, he with two others, one of whom was Clarke, was sent to Lynn to visit an aged member of their church. While there on Sunday Clarke preached. The three were arrested and brought to Boston for trial. Holmes was sentenced to pay a fine of thirty pounds, "or else to be well whipt." He refused to pay the fine, and in default suffered the alternative. It was not lightly done, "the man striking with all his strength (yea spitting on his

discover how *light* or *ponderous* each parcel is in Gods most holy presence. Master Cotton first complaines against the *publishing* of his *private letter*, with an *Answer* thereunto: he faulteth the *discusser* for *punishing* his *conscience*, against the *discussers* own *Tenent* of *liberty of conscience*, for breach of *rule*, in first *publishing* to the world before *private admonition*, and telling the *Church*.

Truth. How justly may I begin with the *defenders* own *conclusion* of this first *Chapter*! He that setteth forth of his *way* in the first *entrance* of his *journey*, no marvel if he *wander* all the day after. For,

First, the *discusser* never wrote any such *letter* to Master Cotton, as Master Cotton so often affirms, and mentioneth throughout his *Book*.

hand three times many affirmed) with a three-coarded whip, giving me therewith thirty stroaks." Gov. Jencks testifies that he was whipt "in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay." Backus, *Hist.*, 1: 237. Mr. Palfrey makes light of it and "ventures to hope that the executioner had been directed by his superiors to vindicate what they thought the majesty of the law at little cost to the delinquent," because the poor sufferer had such inward peace that "in a manner he felt it not." *Hist. of N. E.*, ii: 353.

The Appendix to this work contains a letter from Williams to Gov. Endicott in reference to this case of persecution, Cotton had been a party to it. "Mr. Cotton in his Sermon immediately before

the Court gave their Sentence affirmed, that denying Infants Baptism would overthrow all: and this was a capital offence: and therefore they were soul-murderers." *Ill. News*, 56.

His part in so infamous a transaction provoked Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was then in England, to write to him and Mr. Wilson in remonstrance. He says "These rigid wayes have lay'd you very lowe in the hearts of the saynts." 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv: 171. Sir Henry Vane wrote to Winthrop (June 10, 1645,) expressing his apprehensions "lest while the Congregational way among you is in its freedom, and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners here to extirpate it and root it out, from its own principles and practice." *Hutch. Coll.*, 131. Such intimations may have induced the caution which Williams alleges against Cotton in the text.

The like mistake he falls into, in some other *passages*, which shall be gently toucht at, and pass'd by, as the failing of *memory*.

Peace. It is often seen, that small *matters* in the first *steps* and [4] *entrance* of a *business*, prove *ominous*; and although *love* bids us lay the *blame* on *memory*: yet since *Nil sine providentia & Deus est maximus in minimis*, and not a *Sparrow* nor a *Haire* falls without him; methinks such a *stumble* in the *threshold* should have one sad *consideration* in Master Cottons *breast*, so long as he resides in the *chamber* of this *discourse*.

The occasion of publishing the bloody Tenent.

Truth. To my knowledge there was no such letter or *intercourse* pass'd between Master Cotton and the *discusser*; but what I have heard, is this: One Master Hall of Roxbury,¹ presented the prisoners Arguments against persecution to Master Cotton, who gave this present controverted *Answer*; with the which Master Hall not being satisfied, he sends them unto the *discusser*, who never saw the said Hall, nor those *Arguments* in writing; (though he well remember that he saw them in print some yeers since) and apprehending no other, but that Master Cottons *Answer* was as publicke, as Master Cottons *profession* and *practice* of the same *Tenent* was and is, what *breach* of rule can Master Cotton say it was, to answer that in the *streets* which Master Cotton proclaimeth on the *House top*?

Peace. But grant it had been a *private letter*, and the *discourse* and the *opinion* private: yet why doth

¹ John Hall, of Roxbury, arrived in Boston in 1633, and was probably admitted freeman May 14, 1634. He afterwards removed to Connecticut, and

died at Middletown, May 26, 1673. Cf. Preface to *Bloudy Tenent, Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: v.-vi.

he charge the *discusser* with breach of rule, in not using orderly wayes of *Admonition*, and telling the Church, when Master Cotton himself in this Book blames the *discusser* for disclaiming Communion with their Church, and they also (after he was driven by banishment from civil habitation amongst them) had sent forth a bull of excommunication against him in his absence.¹

Such *practise* the Lord Jesus and his first Apostles or Messengers never taught, nor any that are truly their successors ever will. But to end this Chapter, in the last place, why doth Master Cotton complaine of the loss of the liberty of his conscience, and of the punishing of his conscience, by the publishing of his letter; aggravating it, because the *discusser* pleads for liberty of conscience? Is he indeed on the Lord Jesus mind for the sparing mens bodies, and present life, for their souls and eternal lives sake? Doth he indeed plead for liberty of conscience? Let the following discourse, and this present passage manifest how tender he is of his own conscience, and of the liberty of it; But how censorious and senseless of the pangs and agonies of other mens conscience and spirits, and sorrows? As if his alone were the Apple of his eye, but Theirs like the brawny hoofs of the roaring Bulls of Bashan.

Peace. Complaines Master Cotton of persecution for such dealing against him? I never heard that disput-

¹ Hugh Peters writes in the name of the church in Salem to the church in Dorchester, under date "1st 5th mo. 39. We thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of such persons as have had the great censure passed upon them in this our church, with the reasons thereof. Roger Williams and his wife, &c. These wholly refused to hear the church, denying it, and all the churches in the Bay, to be true churches, and (except two) are all re-baptized." Knowles, *Life*, 176.

Master Cotton complaining of being persecuted by the discusser. ing, discourfing and examining mens *Tenents* or *Doctrines* by the word of God, was (in proper *Engliſh* acceptation of the word) *persecution* for *conſcience*: well had it been for *New England*, that no ſervant of God, nor *witneſs* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, could juſtly take up no other *complaint* againſt *New England* for other kinds of *persecution*: ſurely the voice of *Chriſt Jeſus* to *Paul*; *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* was for another kind of *persecution*.

Truth. Deare Peace, if the *Biſhops* of *Old England* or *new* had never ſtirred up the *Civil Magiſtrate* to any other ſuppreſſing of mens *conſciences*, nor no other *persecuting*, then *diſcuſſing, diſputing* &c. they ſhould never have needed to have been charged ſo publiſhly in the face of the world, with the *bloody Tenent* of *persecution* for *cauſe* of *conſcience*.

Examination of CHAP. II.

Peace.

IN this *Chapter* *Maſter Cotton* much complains, that he is charged in the *Title* to maintaine *persecution* for *cauſe* of *conſcience*, and profeſſeth, That he would have none be puniſhed for *conſcience*, unleſs his errour be *fundamental*, or *ſeditiouſly*; or *turbulenly* promoted, and that after due *conviction* of *conſcience*, and that it may appear he is not puniſhed for his *conſcience*, but for ſinning againſt his *conſcience*.

Persecution in plaine Engliſh. *Truth.* *Persecution* for *conſcience*, is in *plaine Engliſh*, hunting for *conſcience*; and *Maſter Cotton* being a ſon of wine (as the *Jews* ſpeak in their *Proverb*) is

loth to be counted a son of *vinegar*, and therefore would avoid the word *persecuting* or *hunting* (as something too wilde and fierce an *expression*, more futable to the bloody sons of *vinegar* and *gall* the Roman Emperors, Popes and Bishops) and he much desires to have the word *perse-* [6] *cuting* changed for the word *punishing*, a tearm more proper to true Justice.

But is not this the *guise* and *profession* of all that ever *persecuted* or *hunted* men for their Religion and conscience? are not all *histories* and *experiences* full of the *pathetical* speeches of *persecutors* to this purpose? You will say you are persecuted for your conscience, you plead conscience; Thou art a *heretick* the devil hath deceived thee, thy conscience is deluded, &c. And

2. Whether such *punishing* as Master Cotton assigneth to that threefold degree of *heretical* wickedness, chap. 5. to wit, To hold a *fundamental error*, To *persist* therein after *conviction*, and lastly, To *seduce* others thereunto, Or these five summed up (page 186 of his book) *subverters* of the *Christian Faith*, *persisters* therein after *conviction*, *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*; I say, such a punishing which he affirms to be *death* and *killing* will not amount to make up a *persecution* for *cause* of conscience let the *Spanish Inquisitions* be an instance, who when they torture and rack, and kill and burn for such *crimes*, yet varnish they and guild all over with the painted Title of Gods Glory, holy zeal, just *punishment* of *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. But Master Cotton blameth, that he should be charged with the *Doctrine* of *persecution* by *consequence*.

Truth. Let his whole *book*, and the *prosecuting* of this *controversie* be judge, whether it be only drawn from *consequences*, and not expresse *Tearms*. And for the washing of this *bloody Tenent* in the *blood* of the *Lambe*, *Time* hath and will discover that such a *Black-amore* cannot be washed in the *blood* of *Christ* himself, without *Repentance*; for they that washed their robes in the *blood* of the *Lamb* (*Revelations* the 7. [14.]) were true *penitents*: untill therefore that *persecutors* repent of this bloody *Doctrines* and *practice*, they must hear (as the men of *Judah* did) the prophet *Isaiahs* thunder, *Isa.* 1. [15. 16.] *Your hands are defiled with blood; wash you, make you clean, &c.*

7]

Examination of CHAP. III.*Peace.*

BUt what *knot* in a *Bulrush* is that, which Master *Cotton* observes the *discusser* findes in his first *distinction* of *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*?

Truth. For the matter upon the point, they both agree, as Master *Cotton* hath penned himself, that *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*, is not onely when a man is punished for *professing* such *Doctrines* and *Worships*, as he believes to be of *God*, but also when he is punished for renouncing such *Doctrines*, and not practising such *Worships*, which he believes are not of *God*, &c.

All the *difference* is this, that the *discusser* saith, This should have been expresse in the *distinction*; Master *Cotton* saith, it was implied, and therefore the

observing of the not expressing of it, was but a *knot* in a *Bulrush*.

Peace. Tis wofully true, that the *peace* of the *Saints*, and the *peace* of the *world*, hath been lamentably, broake and distracted, in *punishing* or *persecuting* of men, but especially the *Saints*, upon both these grounds: but yet the *records* of *time* and *experience* will tell us, that since the *Apostasie* from the *truth* of *Iesus*, the rising of *Antichrist*, and the setting up of many *State-Religions*, the forest and frequentest *punishing* or *hunting* of the children of God hath been (as in the case of *Nebuchadnezzars Image*) for not bowing down to the *State-Images*, for not coming to *Church*, for not obeying the *Laws*, for withstanding the *Kings*, or *Queens*, or *Parliaments proceedings*. Gods children commonly persecuted for not yeelding to State worships.

Truth. Your *observation* is most *serious* and *seasonable*, and your *complaint* as *true* as *lamentable*: for since all *States* and *Governments* of the world (which lies in wickedness) set up their *State* or *Commonweal-Religions*, *Nebuchadnezzars golden Images* and *Jero-boams golden Calves* (the *types* of the *State-Worships* of after *Ages*) whereby others are made to sin and bow down to their seeming glorious *worships*; and since the *dissenters*, *refusers*, *non-conformers*, *non-covenanters* (the *witnesses* of God against such *abominations*) are but few; and what *positive worship* they 8] hold or practice (commonly) is most *retired*, and flying into *private corners*, by reason of the *violence* of the *persecution*; they are hence, soonest in all *places* of their abode, and more *speedily* and *immediately* called for and sought out, in the severall *Parish-towns* where they live to bow down to the *common-Image*,

the *beastly* and *Calvish* inventions of the *Ieroboams* of this perishing world; and for refusing to *subscribe*, to *conforme*, to come to *Church*, to do as their *neighbours*, for being wiser then their *Teachers*, their *Fathers*, their *Magistrates*, the *Country*, the *Parliament*, the *Kingdome* (and sometimes the whole world, in their *Oecumenical*, or *worldly Councels*) they are thus punished and hunted for their *conscience*, for *Gods*, for *Jesus* sake; which is a point Master Cotton will say (if the *blood* of his dear *Redeemer* spilt in the *blood* of his servants, kindly affect him) of greater weight then *knots* in *bulrushes*.

Examination of CHAP. IV.

Peace.

IN the second *distinction* (to wit, of *fundamentals*, without right *belief* whereof, a man cannot be saved) Master Cotton upon the point confesseth it was a just reproof, and faith, that he meant only of the first sort of *foundations*, that concern *salvation*, and not of those that concerne the *foundation* of the *Church*, and *Christian Religion*.

Truth. It is strange that Master Cotton should so
 Aet. 2. [1.] distinguish of *foundations*, when the holy *Scripture*
 2 [1.] Pet. attributes *salvation* to those *foundations* of the *Church*,
 3. [21.] and the *order* of it: The Lord added to the *Church*
 such as should be *saved*, and the like *figure* where-
 unto *Baptisme* now *saveth* us; and concerning the
resurrection that we are saved by *hope*, *Rom.* 8. [24.]

Besides, are not those first *foundations*, which he saith concerne *salvation*, *foundations* also of the *Christian Religion*? If not of the *Christian*, then I demand of what *Religion* are they *foundations*?

Peace. It cannot therefore be denied, but that his *distinction* of *fundamentals*, was most dangerous, tending directly to con- [9] demne the *generation* of the *righteous*, who have been generally for many *generations* ignorant of the *Christian* way of *worship*. But what say you to this *reply*, touching how far the *New English* (implicite) *Parishes* compare and partake with those of *old*?

Truth. How far those *Churches* cannot be cleered from not *comming out* from the *Parish-worship*, from being themselves (implicately) *Parish-Churches* (notwithstanding their *Fig-leaves*, &c.) and from being *persecutors* of such as endeavour to cover their *nakedness* with better clothing, will appear, with Christs assistance, in the *examination* of his reply to the *Answer* of his *Letter*.¹

Examination of CHAP. V.

Peace.

THE discourse of this *chapter* is *larger* and more *controversial*, and therefore (*dear Truth*) requires your most *serious* and deeper *examination* of it. Master Cotton here distinguisheth *worship* into *true* and *false*, and infers, that if *true worship*, *fellowship* with

¹ This "examination," which was p. 40 *supra*, was probably never published in the address to the Reader, lished.

God is held; but if *false, fellowship* with God is lost. And whereas he was thereupon minded by the *diffuser* to have lived in a false *Ministry* in England, and to have practised the false *worship* of the *Common Prayer*, he labours to clear both, and in particular he saith, It is not truly said, that the *Spirit of God* maketh the *Ministry* one of the *foundations* of the *Christian religion*, (*Heb. 6. [1. 2.]*) For it is (saith he) only a *foundation* of *Christian order*, not of *faith* or *religion*: and he adds, The *Apostle* puts an expresse *difference* between *faith* and *order*, *Col. 2. 5*. What can be said thereunto?

Truth. 1. Alas, what buildings can weak souls expect from such Master-builders, when Master Cotton is so confounded about the very *foundations*? In the former *Chapter*, he distinguisheth between *foundations* that concern *salvation*, and those that concern the the *Church* and *Christian religion*: here he distinguisheth between those of *Christian order*, and those of *Faith*, or *Christian religion*. In the former, he opposeth *faith* against *religion* and [10] *order*; here he opposeth *faith* and *religion* to *order*. Grant his *memory* (in so short a turn) failed him, yet doubtless his *mistakes* about the *foundation* of *Christian religion*, are most gross and inexcusable.

Truth. 2. I finde no such *distinction* in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, between the *Christian order*, and the *Christian religion*; as if the *order* of the *Church of God* (I might say, the *Church* it self, and the *Ministry* of it) were no part of the *Christian religion*.

It is true, *Coloss. 2. [5.]* speaks of *faith* and *order*, but yet denies not the *Christian Church*, and the *order* of

it, to be any part of the *Christian religion*. It is true, that sometimes *faith* implies the particular *grace* of *believing*, and yet sometimes it is put for the whole *Christian religion* (as *Jude* 1[3]. contend for the *faith* once delivered) so that if Master *Cotton* confesseth the *Ministry* of the *Word* (*Heb.* 6.) to be a *foundation* of *Christian* or *Church-order*, he cannot deny it to be a *foundation* of the *Christian religion* or *worship* reduced to those two, of *Faith* and *Order*.

Peace. What answer you to his saying, It is not a true and a safe speech, to call the *fellowship* and *blessing* of God vouchsafed to corrupt *Churches* or *Ministers*, or *ministrations* unpromised, or beyond a word of *promise*, of God? Against which he alleadgeth (*Ier.* 13.[33.8.]) That God will be *merciful* to his peoples iniquities, and 2 *Chron.* 30. [19.] Gods mercy to every one that prepareth his *heart*, &c. although he be not cleansed after the *preparation*, &c.

Truth. The *promises* hold forth no *blessing* or *fellowship* of God to *false worship*s; against which all the holy *Scripture* denounceth *curfings*, both in the old and new *Testament*; nor in particular doth that of *Ieremy* promise any *pardon* of sin, but to the *repentant*, though most true also is that *distinction* of *particular* repentance for known sins, and *general* for sins unknown. Such was the sin (it may be) of the *Israelites*, 2 *Chron.* 30. in their want of such their legal cleansing.

But I add, how can that one act of covering or conniving at *ceremoniall* uncleanness (about a true *worship*) be brought to prove a promise of Gods blessing and fellowship, to a constant course of a *false* and

invented way of prayer by the *Latine* or *English Masse-book*, as some have rightly called it?

11] *Peace*. Concerning *Ordination*, Master Cotton saith, that it is no *essential* part of a call to the *Ministry*; no more then *Coronation* is *essential* to the Office of a *King*: And *Jehoshua* the *high priest* did not lose *fellowship* with *God*, though he was clothed with *filthy garments*, *Zech.* 3. [3. 5.]

Truth. I answer, *Ordination* or laying on of hands, comprizeth the whole *Ministry*, *Heb.* 6. [2] wherein if *Election* or *Ordination* be false, I see not how the *Ministry* is true, any more then a *marriage* can be true, where either *consent* or *solemnity* by a true power is wanting: or a *King* rightly instituted in his *Kingly* office, when either *election* or *coronation* is given or made by a false power.

*Ordination
of Christs
Ministry
undfily com-
pared to
the corona-
tion of
Kings.*

2. But further, *Ordination* is not well represented by a *Kings coronation* (to say nothing of the stateliness of the simile) for a *King* may administer by *successive election* and *consent* (in some States) before *coronation*, and *coronation* is but for publike *state* and *ceremony*; but a *Minister* cannot administer before *ordination* (no more then a *husband* enjoy his *spouse* before marriage) which is the putting of him into, and the investing of him with his Authority, as we see both in the *priests* of the *law*, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*.

Concerning *Jehoshua* his garments; This kind of *confession* is not after the *patterne* of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *David*, *Daniel*, &c. but with mincing and excusing. Moreover, in this place of *Zechary*, *God* only comforts his people with the promise of *better times*, and

more new and costly garments: for the *High priest* now returning from *captivity*, his garments were torne, foule and filthy.

Lastly, These were the *garments* of the *Lords* appointing, though in a poor and afflicted condition: what is this to a *fools cap* or *coate* (the *cap* or *surplice*) what is this to the office of *Ieroboams priests*, which never were of *God*, though happily some of them might studiously give themselves to attaine and teach the knowledge of *God*, and might (in a kind) separate from the false, 2 *Chron.* 13. [9.] and some good thing might be found in some, as in *Ieroboams* child, and happily many others as in these our times?

Peace. Concerning *common prayer*, he pleades the time of their *ignorance*; as also that the *high places* were removed, 2 *Chron.* [12] 14. [5.] and knows not of any such faithful *admonition* as was mentioned.

*Master
Cotton
pleads for
Common
prayer.*

Truth. God winketh at some *ignorance*, but is not blind to pass by all: The *high places* were an high sin, and in *Gods* time discovered, repented of, and removed; but ever by God disclaimed, &c. And although the *discusser* acknowledgeth himself unworthy to speak for *God* to *Master Cotton* or any, yet possibly *Master Cotton* may call to minde, that the *discusser* (riding with himself and one other of precious memorie (*Master Hooker*) to and from *Sempringham*) presented his *Arguments* from *Scripture*, why he durst not joyn with them in their use of *Common prayer*; and all the *Answer* that yet can be remembred the *discusser* received from *Master Cotton*, was, that he selected the good and best prayers in his use of that *Book*, as the *Author* of the *Councel*

of *Trent* was used to do, in his using of the *Masse-book*.¹

Peace. Yea but further (saith Master Cotton) *Num- bers* 20. [1-11.] *Moses* used an unwarrantable way of *prophefying*, and yet *God* gave water; therefore set formes of *prayer* may bring a blessing down.

Examina-
tion of
Num. 6.
20.

Truth. *Moses* his calling was true in a true *Church*; his failing was in point of *passion* and *unbelieve*. What is this to the *Common prayer*, where all were *Idols*, both the *society* or *communion*; in which the *priest* himself, and the *worship* were but inventions? &c.

Peace. But, saith he, *Common prayer* is not such a *fundamentall errour*.

Acts 6.
[4.]

Truth. The word and *prayer* are those two great *services* of *God*, which even the *Apostles* themselves gave themselves unto: And if Master Cotton intend not that his *Argument* shall stand good against Master Ball,² to prove the falleness of such a maine *worship* of *God*, let him shew what that *worship* of *God* is, which he intendeth, when he so distinguisheth of some *false worship* wherein *fellowship* with *God* is lost.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Master Cotton, to clear

¹ Sempringham is a small parish in Lincolnshire, about eighteen miles from Boston where Cotton was rector. Hooker was minister at Chelmsford from 1626 to 1630. Whence they rode "to and from Sempringham" is nowhere indicated, or we might have some clue to Williams's own residence at that time. The liberality of Father Paul Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, is familiar to all who know his history. See Rev. James Martineau's article on his life and his biographies, *Westminster Review*,

April, 1838. Cf. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: 69.

² Rev. John Ball, of Brasenose College, Oxford, published in 1640 a defence of set forms of Prayer. To this Cotton published a reply entitled "A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Balls Discourse of Set formes of Prayer, &c. Written by the Reverend and Learned John Cotton B. D. and Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in New England. London, 1642." Cf. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i: 324; ii: 38, 162.

himself from *partiality*, and that he never useth to *measure* that to any, which he would not have measured to himself, He proposeth a threefold *wickedness*, which he saith *God* never left him to fall into.

13] First, Any *fundamental errour*. Secondly, persisting therein after *admonition* and *conviction*. Thirdly, *seducing* of others. And lastly, he professeth, that if he should so fall, it were better for him to be cut off by *death* or *banishment*, then the *flocke* of *Christ* to be *seduced* by his *heretical* wickedness.

Truth. I here first observe (as also in other places) ^{Three causes for which} Master Cottons acknowledgement and *profession* of what a man may be punished for: to wit, a *fundamental errour*, *persisting* in it, and *seducing* others; all which are *spiritual* matters, of *religion* and *worship*, ^{Master Cotton maintaines persecution} for which he decrees from the *Magistrate*, *death* or *banishment*; and yet elsewhere in many other passages, he professeth against all *persecution* for *conscience*.

Secondly, If Master Cotton should so fall, and be so dealt withall by the *civil state*,

First, would not Master Cotton conscientiously be perswaded of the *Truth* of what he held, though accounted by others *fundamental error*, *obstinacy*, *heresie*? &c.

Secondly, Will Master Cotton think that *death* or *banishment* would be wholesome and *Christian* meanes and *remedies* to change and heal his *conscience*.?

Thirdly, He (to prevent the *infection* of others) granting the *civil Magistrate* must punish him with *death* or *banishment*, doth he not make the *Magistrate*, yea the *Civil State* (what State soever he live in) the *Judge* of his *conscience* and *errors*?

Fourthly, Confessing it now, that to worship *God* with a *Common prayer*, was his sin, and yet it was his *conscience*, that he might so do: If the *Magistrate* had judged it to be a *fundamental error*, he grants he might then have put him to *death* or *banishment*, if persisting, &c. though yet he hath a *proviso*, and a *retreat* against this *assault*, professing, that if the *Magistrate* be not rightly informed, he must stay his *proceedings*: of which afterward.

Peace. What is this, but, in plaine *English*, to profess that all the *Magistrates* and *Civil powers*, throughout the whole world, although they have command and power from *Christ Jesus*, to judge in matters of *conscience*, *religion*, and *worship*, and live in daily sin, that they do not cut off the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, &c. yet except they be of Master *Cottons* minde and *conscience*, to [14] account and judge to be, they must *suspend* their *duty* and *office* in this case, until they be better informed, that is, untill they be of his mind?

Examination of CHAP. VI.

Peace.

BUT to proceed to the sixth Chapter, in which is handled that which more especially concerns my *self*. It is too lamentably known, how the furious *troopes* of *persecutors* in all *States*, *Cities*, *Towns*, &c. have ever marched under my name, the white colours of *peace*, *civil peace*, *publike peace*.

Truth. Yet Master Cotton confesseth, that the *Cities* peace is an *humane* an *civil* peace, as was further explained in many *instances* from *Babylon*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, &c. against which Master Cotton excepts not.

Peace. The difference or controversie in this Chapter lies in two things. First, In the *similitudes* used from *companies* and *societies*, voluntarily entering into *combinations*, which are distinct from the City.

2. In the nature of the *Church*, which he maintaines to be a *society*, whose *order* the City is bound to preserve, as well as any of their civil *orders* or *societies*.

Truth. To begin with the first, Master Cotton "replies, " That although such *societies* be not of the " *essence* of the *City*, yet they are of the *integral* and " *conservant* causes of the *City*, and so the *disturbance* " of any of those *orders* or *societies* in the *City*, dis- " turbes the *City* it self.

But I answer, The *similitude* was used more especially from a *colledge* of *Physitians*, or a *society* of *Christ's Church* *may be* *gathered* *and dissolved* *without* *disturbance* *of civil* *Peace.* *Merchants*, *Turkish*, *East-Endies*, &c. and consequently any other of that kinde, voluntarily combining together for the better inriching of themselves in the improvement of their *faculties* for publike good (at least so pretended.) It was never intended, that if such necessary Trades, Callings, &c. as he mentioneth, be dissolved and ruined, that there would be no *disturbance* of the *peace* of the *City*: But that if such or such a way and *order* of men of those faculties I mentioned, [15] voluntarily *combine*, and voluntarily also *dissolve*; yet all this may may be, without any breach of *civil* and *publike* peace.

Peace. If so, much more the *church* of *Christ*, which is a *spiritual society* voluntarily uniting, may dissolve; I say, much more, without the breach of the *peace* of the *city*, which is of a *civil* and humane nature, as is confessed, and was urged in the instances of *Ephesus*, &c.

Truth. 2. We are wont when we speak of keeping or breaking the *Peace*, to speak of *Words* or *Actions* of *Violence*, *Sedition*, *Uproare*, &c. for, *Actions* of the *Cases*, *Pleas*, and *Traverses* may be, and yet no peace broken, when men submit to the *Rule* of *State*, for the composing of such *differences*, &c. Therefore it is that I affirme, that if any of *Christ's Church* have difference with any other man in *civill* and *humane* things, he ought to be judged by the *Law*: But if the *Church* have *spiritual controversies* among themselves or with any other, or if *God* take away the *Candlestick* as he threatned the Church in *Ephesus*, all this may be, and yet no civil peace broken: Yea, amongst those that profess the same *God* and *Christ*, as the *Papists* and *Protestants*, or the same *Mahomet*, as the *Turks* and *Persians*, there would no civil *Peace* be broken, notwithstanding their *differences* in *Religion*, were it not for the bloody *Doctrine* of *Persecution*, which alone breaks the bounds of *civil* peace, and makes *Spiritual* causes the causes of their bloodie *dissentions*.

The doctrine and practise of Persecution, breaks the peace wherever it comes.

I observe therefore, a twofold *Fallacie* in Master *Cottons* reply. First, he fallaciously mingles *Peace* and *Prosperity* together: for though it be true, that under the terme *Peace* all good things are sometimes concluded, yet when we speak of *Hereticks* or *Schis-*

The civil peace of a place or people is one thing,

maticks breaking the *civil* peace, or strowing *Doc-* and the
trines tending to break the *civill* peace, we must welfare or
understand some such words or acts of *violence*, wherein prosperity
the *bounds* and *orders* of the *City*, *Laws*, and *Courts* in health
are violated; taking it for granted (for this is the wealth,
Supposition) that the *Lawes* of the *City* be meere- &c. an-
civill and humane. Hence then I affirme, that there other.
is no *Doctrine*, no *Tenent* so directly tending to break
the *Cities* peace, as this *Doctrine* of *persecuting* or *pun-*
ishing each other for the cause of *conscience* or *Religion*.

Againe, it is a second Fallacie to urge your order
of the *Church*, [16] and the *Excellency* thereof, and
that therefore it is a Breach of the *civil* peace, when
the *Order* of the *church* is not preserved: For
although it is most true, that sooner or later the *God* The Cities
of heaven punisheth the *nations* of the world, for of the
their *Idolatries*, *Superstitions*, &c. yet Master *Cotton* world en-
himself acknowledgeth (as was affirmed) that many joy peace
glorious flourishing *cities* there are all the world over, and pros-
wherein no *church* of *Christ* is extant: Yea, that the perity,
Commonweale of *Rome* flourished five hundred years where
together, before ever the name of *Christ* was heard Christ is
in it; which so great a *Glory* of so great a *continu-* not heard
ance, mightily evinceth the distinction of the *civill* of.
peace of a *State* from that which is *Christian* *Religion*.

It is true (as Master *Cotton* tells us) that the *Turks*
have plagued the *Antichristian* world, for their *Idola-*
tries: Yet *History* tells us, that one of their *Emper-*
ours (*Mahomet*) was the man that first broke up and
desolated two most glorious ancient *cities*, *Constanti-*
nople (which had flourished 1120 yeares (since its
first building by *Constantine*) and *Athens*, which from

Solons giving of it *Laws*, had flourished two thousand yeares, notwithstanding their Idolatries, &c.¹

Truth. It is apparent that then the *Christian Religion* gloriously flourished (contrary to *Master Cottons* observation) when the *Roman Emperours* took not power to themselves to reform the *abuses* in the *Christian Church*, but persecuted it; and then the *church* was ruined and overwhelmed with *Apostacy* and *Antichristianism*, when the *Emperours* took that power unto themselves: And then it was (as *Master Cotton* elsewhere confesseth) that *Christianitie* lost more, even in *Constantines* time, then under bloody *Nero, Domitian, &c.*²

Christianity lost most under such Emperours as claimed Christs power to reform the Church, &c.

Peace. It cannot be denied (dear *Truth*) but that the *Peace* of a *civil State* (of all States, excepting that of typical *Israel*) was and is meerly and *essentially civil*. But *Master Cotton* saith further, Although the *Inward Peace* of a *church* is *Spiritual*, yet the *outward Peace* of it, *Magistrates* must keep in a way of *Godliness* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2. 1.

Truth. The *Peace* of a *church* of *Christ* (the onely true *Christian State, Nation, Kingdom, or city*) is *Spiritual*, whether *internal* in the *Soul*, or *external* in the *administration* of it; as the *peace* of a *civil State* is

¹ The siege of Constantinople under Mahomet II., begun on the 6th of April, 1453, and the city was taken the 29th of May. Constantine XI., the Byzantine Emperor, fell, exclaiming "I would rather die than live." The city had suffered twenty-nine sieges in the course of a thousand years. This was the last. With it fell the Roman power in the East, and the Ottoman Turks established their empire in Europe. Gibbon, *Decline*

and Fall, 1230-1238; Creasy, *Hist. of Ottoman Turks*, i: 123-141. Athens was taken possession of by Mahomet II., in 1456. Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, 1204 to 1461, p. 191.

² See *Bloudy Tenent*, 211; *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: 368. The reference is to Cotton's application of the Song of Solomon to the history of the Christian church, in his *Exposition of the Canticles*, p. 141.

civil, internal in the mindes of men, and [17] *external* in the administration and conversation of it; and for that place of *Timothy*, it hath been fully spoken to in this *discourse*, and the Discusser hath as yet seen no *exception* against what hath been spoken.

Peace. But further, saith Master *Cotton*, although the *peace* of a Country be *civil*, yet it is distracted by disturbing the peace of the *Church* for God cut short the Coasts of the *civil State* when *Jehu* shortened his *Reformation*, 2 King. 10. 31, 32.

Truth. Master *Cotton* denies not (but confessed in his discourse concerning *Baptism*)¹ that *Canaan* was *Typical*, and to be cast out of that *Land*, was to be cast out of *Gods fight*: which proves thus much, That the *church* of *Christ*, the *Israel* now, neglecting to reform, *God* will cut this *Israel* short. But what is this to a meerly *civil State*, which may flourish many hundreds, yea some thousands of yeers together (as I before instanced) when the Name of the true Lord *Jesus Christ* is not so much as heard of within it?

Peace. Lastly, (saith he) the *church* is a *Society*, as

¹ This work was entitled "The grounds and ends of the Baptisme of the Children of the faithfull. By the Learned and Faithfull Minister of Christ, John Cotton, Teacher of the Church of Boston in New England. London, 1647." The reference is to page 40. "*Canaan* it selfe was not given as a meere temporal blessing: but as a pledge of a spiritual inheritance, a Seale of the Church, a type of Heaven. Hence it was that *Jacob* gave such a solemne charge by oath unto *Joseph*, and *Joseph* to his brethren, the one to bury his dead body in *Canaan*, the other for the transportation of his

bones to *Canaan*: which they would never have done for an earthly inheritance, but to nourish in the hearts of their posterity, faith and desire of their communion in the Church, and of their rest in heaven, whereof the rest in *Canaan* was a type, whereunto not *Moses* but *Joshua* must bring them, that is, not the law, but *Jesus*, *Heb.* 3. 11. with Chap. 4. 5, 8. And their casting out of that Country by captivity was their casting out of *Gods fight*. 2 *Kings*, 17. 28. Whereby their church Estate was dissolved, the Communion of Saints scattered, &c."

well as the *Societies* of *Merchants*, *Drapers*, &c. and it is just to preserve the *Society* of the *church*, as well as any other *Society*.

Truth. When we speak of the *balances* of *Justice*, we must distinguish between the *Balances* of the *Sanctuary*, and the *Balances* of the *World* or *civil States*. It is *spiritual justice* to preserve *spiritual right*; and for that end, the *spiritual King* thereof hath taken *care*. It is *civil Justice* to preserve the *civil rights*; and the *Rights* of a *civil Society* ought justly to be *preserved* by a *civil State*: (and yet if a *company* of men combine themselves into a *civil society* by voluntary agreement, and voluntarily dissolve it, it is not *justice* to force them to continue together.)

*The Soci-
ties or
Churches
of the
Saints are
meerly vol-
untary in
combining
or dissolv-
ing.*

Peace. The *church* can least of all be forced: for as it is a *spiritual society*, and not subject to any *civil Judicature*; (though some say that a *church* in *New England* was cited to appear before a *civil Court*;) so is the *combination* of it *voluntary*, and the *dissolution* of it in part or whole is *voluntary*, and endures no *Civil violence*, but as a *virgin* (in point of *marriage*) *nec cogit, nec cogitur*, she forceth not, nor can be forced by any *civil power*.

*Christs
Church is
called out
of the
world.*

Truth. But lastly, if it be *justice* to preserve the *Society* of the *church*, is it not partiality in a meer *civil State* to preserve one [18] onely *society*, and not the persons of other Religious societies and *consciences* also? But the *Truth* is, this mingling of the *church* and the *world* together, and their *orders* and *societies* together, doth plainly discover, that such *churches* were never called out from the *world*, and that this is only a secret *policy* of *flesh* and *blood*, to get *protec-*

tion from the world, and so to keep (with some little stilling of conscience) from the Crofs or Gallowes of *Iesus Christ*.

Truth. Yea, but hear (saith Master Cotton) those excellent penmen of the Spirit (both the Father and the Son) David and Solomon. First David (Psalme 122 [6.]) They shall prosper that love the peace of *Jerusalem*: and Solomon, Where the righteous rejoyce, there is great glory, *Prov.* 28.[12.] Now (saith he) what is the church but a congregation of righteous men? If the rejoycing of the Church be the glory of a Nation, surely the disturbing, and destroying, and dissolving the church is the shame and confusion of a Nation.

Truth. The outward prosperity of a Nation, was a typical figurative blessing, of that national and figurative church of *Israel* in *Canaan*. It is now made good spiritually to them that love the spiritual *Jerusalem*: for though godliness hath a promise of things of this life convenient; yet persecution is the common and ordinary portion of the Saints under the Gospel, though that cup be infinitely sweetned also to them that drink of it with *Christ Iesus*, by the measure and increase of a hundred fold for one, even with persecution in this life.

2. It is true, the rejoycing of a Church of *Christ*, is the glory of any Nation, and the contrary a shame: yet this proveth not that God vouchsafeth to no state, civil peace, and temporal glory, except it establish and keep up a Church of *Christ* by force of armes; for the contrary we have mentioned, and Master Cotton confesseth the flourishing of States ignorant of *Christ*, from Age to Age, yea, and as I have mentioned, even

The flourishing of civil states.

to two thousand yeers in *Athens*; six generations before it heard of *Christ*, and fourteen generations since, with the sprinkling (for some time) of the knowledge of *Christ Iesus* in it.

Peace. 2. But consider (saith Master Cotton) the excellency and prebeminence of the church, that the world is for it, and would not subsist but for it, &c.

No Civil
state can
either by
Christs
Testimony,
or true rea-
son, be
judge of
the Eccle-
siastical
and spirit-
ual.

19] *Truth.* Tis true, glorious things are spoken of the City of God, &c. yet for many Ages together Master Cotton confesseth the Nations of the world may subsist & flourish without it; and though it be the duty of the Nations of the world to countenance and cherish the church of *Christ*; yet where is there any commission, either in the New or Old Testament, that the Nations of the world should be the judges, governors, and defenders of *Christ Iesus* his spiritual kingdome, and so bound to take up Armes and smite with the civil sword (among so many pretenders) for that which they believe to be the church of *Christ*?

Peace. 3. (saith he) It is matter of just displeasure to God, and sad grief of heart to the church, when civil states looke at the state of the church, as of little or no concernment to themselves, *Zech.* 1. 19. *Lam.* 1. 13.

Truth. Grant this, and that the most jealous God will awake in his season, for these sins, and for the persecutions, idolatries, and blasphemies; which the Nations live in: yet what is this for warrant to the Nations (as before) to judge and rule the church of *Christ*, yea, and under the colour of defending *Christs* faith, and preserving *Christs* church pure, to tear *Christ* out of heaven, by persecuting of his Saints on earth; and to fire the world with devouring flames of bloody

wars, and this onely for the *sweet sake* of the prince of *peace*?

Peace. Dear *Truth*, we are now upon an high point, and that which neerly concerns my self, the *peace* of the *world*, and the *Nations* of it. Master *Cotton* saith further, *God* winketh at the *Nations* in the time of their *ignorance*, and suffers the *Nation* to flourish many hundred yeers together, as did the *Empire* of *Rome*; yet when the *church* of *Christ* comes to be planted amongst them, then, as he brought the *Turkes* upon the *Romans*, for their *persecuting* the *church*, and not preserving it in *purity*; so consequently will he do unto the *Nations* of the *world*.

Truth. I answer, the most righteous *Judge* of the whole world hath plagued the *Nations* of the *world*, both before *Christs* coming, and since, for their *pride* and *cruelty* against his people, for their *idolatries*, *blasphemies*, &c. Yet Master *Cotton* acknowledgeth that many *states* have flourished many hundred yeers together, when no true *church* of *Christ* hath been found in them: [20] and Master *Cotton* will never prove, that *God* ever commanded the *Nations* and *governments* of the world, to gather or constitute his *churches*, and to preserve them in *purity*: For *God* gave his *ordinances*, both before and since *Christ*, to his people onely, whom he *chuseth* and calleth out of the *World*, and the *Nations* of it: and he hath punished and dissolved them for their obstinate *neglect* thereof. And for the *Roman Empire*, and the *Emperors* thereof, the *Christian Religion*, and the *purity* thereof, never lost so much, as when the *Emperors*

were perswaded of Master Cottons bloody Tenent, as Master Cotton and all men seen in *History* and *Christianity* must confesse.

Peace. But further, although (saith Master Cotton) the peace of the *church* be a *spiritual inward* peace, yet there is an *outward peace* of the *church* due to them from *Princes* and *Magistrates*, in a way of *godlines* and *honesty*, 1 *Tim.* 2. [2.] But in a way of *ungodliness* and *idolatry*, it is an wholefome *faithfulness* to the *church*, if *Princes* trouble the *outward peace* of the *church*, that so the *church* finding themselves wounded, and pricked in the house of their *friends*, they may repent, and return to their first husband, *Zech.* 13. [6.] *Hof.* 2. [7.]

Truth. The peace of the Church is not only *inward*, between *God* and *themselves*; but as the *Argument* importeth, to which Master Cotton answereth, the peace of the Church *external* and *outward*, is *spiritual*, essentially differing from the *peace* of the *civil state*, which is meerly *civil* and humane. When the *peace* of the *churches*, *Antioch*, *Corinth*, *Galatia*, was disturbed by *spiritual oppositions*, the *Lord* never sent his *Saints* for *civil* help to maintaine their *spirituall* peace, though the *Lord* did send *Paul* to the higher *civill powers*, to preserve his *civill* peace, when he was molested and oppressed by the *Jews* and *Romans*.

Difference
of spiritual
and civil
peace.

2. For that place of *Timothy*, though I have fully spoken to it in this discourse elsewhere, yet this now: It proves not, because the *church* must pray for *civil Rulers*, that so they may live a quiet and peaceable life in all *godliness* and *honesty*, that therefore *civil*

rulers are *supream rulers* and *judges Ecclesiastical*, next unto *Christ Iesus*, of what is *godliness*, *holiness*, &c. since God hath chosen few *wise* or *noble*, to know *godliness*: And although it is true that Gods end of vouchsafing *peace* and *quietness*, is, that [21] his *Churches* might walk in his fear, and in the wayes of *godliness*; yet it doth not hence follow, that *Magistrates* were the *causes* of the *Churches* walking in the fear of God, and being edified, but only of enjoying *Rest* from *Persecution*, *Act. 9.* [31.]

3. Although Gods *chastisement* call to *repentance*, and although the *false Prophet* in the *church* of *Israel* was to be wounded and slain (as they are now to be cut off *spiritually* from the *church* of *spiritual Israel*) yet was it so in all the other *Nations* of the world? Or did *Christ Iesus* appoint it to be so in all the *Nations* of the world, since his coming, which is the great *question* in difference?

4. And indeed, what is this, but to add *coals* to *coals*, and *wood* to *fire*, to teach the *Nations* of the world, to be *briars* and *thorns*, *butchers* and *tormentors* to the *Lilies* and *Lambes* of the most holy and innocent *Lamb* of God *Christ Iesus*?

Peace. But God (saith Master Cotton) cut *Israel* short in their *civil state* or *Nation*, when they cut short their *reformation*, 1 [2] *King. 10.* [32.]

Truth. Master Cotton elsewhere denying a *National church*, which is bounded with natural and earthly limits, it is a wonder how he can apply that instance of *National Israel*, to the now *spiritual Nation* and *Israel* of God? May he not as well promise earthly *peace* and *prosperity* then most to abound to Gods

When Gods people flourish, when they most prosper and flourish in holiness, zeal, &c. The contrary whereof, to wit, persecution, is most evident in all the New Testament, and all mens new and fresh experience.

people flourish most in godliness then most persecuted.

Peace. To end this Chapter, Master Cotton affirms, that *civil* peace (to speak properly) is not only a *peace* in *civil* things for the *object*, but the peace of all the *persons* in the *City* for the *subject*. The *church* is one *society* in the *City*, as well as the *society* of *Merchants*, *Drapers*, &c. And if it be *civil justice* to protect one, then the other also.

Truth. *Civil* peace will never be proved to be the peace of all the subjects or *Citizens* of a *City* in *spiritual* Things: The *civil* state may bring into order, make orders, preserve in *civil* order all her members: But who ordained, that either the *spiritual* estate should bring in and force the *civil* state to keep *civil* order, or that the *civil* state should sit, judge, [22] and force any of her subjects to keep *spiritual* order?

The true and *living* God, is the God of order, *spiritual*, *civil* and *natural*: *Natural* is the same ever and perpetual: *civil* alters according to the *constitutions* of *peoples* and *nations*: *spiritual* he hath changed from the *national* in one figurative land of *Canaan*, to *particular* and *congregational churches* all the world over; which order *spiritual*, *natural* or *civil*, to confound and abrogate, is to exalt mans *folly* against the most holy and incomprehensible *wisdome* of God, &c.

Examination of CHAP. VII.

Peace.

IN his description of *Arrogancy* and *impetuousness*, Master Cotton tells us, that he that refuseth to subject his *Spirit* to the *Spirit* of the *prophets*, that shall oppose such as dissent with *clubs* *swords* and *cenforious reproaches*, or reject *communion* with the *church*, &c. his practise tends to the disturbing of *civil* or *church-peace*, or both.

Truth. It is a fallacious mingling of *clubs*, *swords*, *reproaches*, &c. with refusing to submit to the *Spirit* of *prophecie* in the *Prophets*, and rejecting of *communion*, &c. For a man may out of true and upright conscience to God (as Master Cotton will not deny) refuse to submit to a whole true *church*, having the *Truth* of God on his side; and may withdraw from communion with a *church* obstinate in sin, and this without breach of *civil peace*; and therefore the mingling or confounding of these *spiritual resistances* or *disturbances* with *guns*, *swords*, &c. is a mingling and confounding of *heaven* and *earth* together. A monstrous mingling of spiritual and civil resistance or disturbance.

2. In that he saith, these wayes tend to the disturbance of either *civil* or *church-peace*, or both; he speakes too like the doubtful *oracles* of *Apollo*, which will be true however the event fall out; but yet he toucheth not the *Truth* of the *question*, which concerns *civil peace* only; against the *disturbers* of which, I grant the *civil powers* to be armed with a *civil sword*, not in vaine, and concerning which divers cases were propounded of seeming *Arrogance* and *impetuousness*

in *Gods* fervants, and yet they fell not justly under any censure of *breach* of *civil peace*.

23] *Peace*. Tis true (saith Master Cotton) because they were not wayes of *Arrogance* nor *Impetuoufness*.

Truth. But will Master Cotton give way that any *conscience* but his own may freely *preach* and *dispute* against the *state-religion*, freely reprove the *highest*, in sharpest language, for matter of *religion*, refuse *conformity* to the *common established religion* and *worship*, disclaime subjection to the *civil powers*, in *spiritual cases*, preach against the *common policy* and seeming *wisdom* of the *State*, even to a seeming *hazarding* of all, and lastly occasion great *tumults* and *uproars* (which were the six cases alleadged?) If Master Cotton granteth this *freedom* to other *consciences* beside his own, why preacheth he *persecution* against such a *liberty*, which other *consciences* beside his own, believe they justly challenge? If to no other *conscience* then his own, it is not his saying ten thousand times, that his *conscience* is true, and others false, nor any other *distinction* in the world, can clear him from most unrighteous and unchristian *partiality*.

Six instances of holy zeal in Scripture, far from arrogance or impetuoufness. These were alleadged from Scripture in the bloody Tenent and acknowledged by Master Cotton.

Examination of CHAP. VIII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter (dear Truth) lies a charge concerning thy self. For whereas thou answerest an objection, that this distinction concerns not *Truth* or *errour*, but the *manner* of holding or divulging, Master Cotton affirms the *distinction* to speak expressly of things

unlawfull and *erroneous*, and therefore that it cannot be said with *Truth*, that the *distinction* concernes not *truth* and *error*.

Truth. The truth is this, the former *distinction* speakes of *matter*, and this *distinction* seems wholly to intend the *manner* of holding forth. The words were these: [Again, in points of *Doctrine* and *Worship* less principal, either they are held forth in a meek and *peaceable* way (though the things be *erroneous* and *unlawful*) or they are held forth with such *Arrogance* and *Impetuousness* as tendeth to the disturbance of *civil peace*.]¹ In which although things *erroneous* and *unlawful* are mentioned; yet who [24] sees not but that those words are brought in by the way of *Parenthesis*, which may or may not be left out, and the *distinction* be whole and intire? And therefore Master Cotton doth not well to spend precious *time* and *life* upon seeming *advantages*.

Peace. Yea, but (saith he) why is this *distinction* blamed, when the discussor himself acknowledgeth, that there may be a way and manner of holding forth, which may tend to break the *civil peace*.

Truth. That which was excepted most against in the *distinction*, was the persecuting *language* of [*arrogance*, *impetuousness*, *boisterousness*,] without declaring what that was: to which Master Cotton answers, that the discussers request, was not that he should compile a *discourse*, but return an *answer* to the *letter* of his *friend*; as also that he charged none of *Gods children* with such things.

I reply (as formerly) Master Cotton's memory (though otherwise excellent) herein faileth; for, such

¹ Cotton's *Answer*, &c., in *Bloudy Tenent*, p. 7. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: 41.

a *request* the discusser never made unto him, by letter or otherwise. 2. Although he charged not *Gods people* with *arrogance* and *impetuousness*, yet mostly and commonly *Gods children* (though meek and peaceable) are accused to be *arrogant*, *impetuous* &c. and 'tis the common notorious *language* of *persecutors* against them.

Peace. Concerning those six *instances* wherein *Gods children* were occasion of great *opposition* and *spiritual hostility*, yea and of breach of *civil peace*, notwithstanding the *matter* delivered was holy, and the *manner* peaceable, Master *Cotton* answers, they nothing concern the *distinction* which speaks of holding forth things *erroneous* and *unlawful* for the matter, and for the *manner* in a way of *arrogance* and *impetuousness*, to the *disturbance* of *civil peace*.

Truth. I reply, first, it speaks not only of *erroneous* and *unlawful* things (though *erroneous* and *unlawful* things be admitted in way of *Parenthesis*, as before.) 2. He describes not what this *arrogance* and *impetuousness* is, but wraps up all in one general dark cloud, wherein the best and most zealous of *Gods Prophets* and servants are easily wrapt up as proud, arrogant, and impetuous.

25]

Examination of CHAP. IX.*Peace.*

IN this Chapter I remember you affirmed, that one cause of *civil dissention* and uproar, was the lying of a *State* under *false worship*, whence it endures not

the preaching of *light* and *truth*, &c. Master Cotton answers, This is not to the purpose, because this is by *accident*.

Truth. It is as much to the purpose to declare (in the examination of the breach of *civil peace* about matters of *Religion*) I say, to declare the true cause of such *troubles* and *uproares*, as it is in the search after the *leaks* of a *ship*, to declare where the *leake* is indeed, when many are said to be where they are not.

2. Whereas he confesseth that *vigilant* and *faithful* ones are not so troubled at the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*, as not to tolerate them amongst them in a civil body, he alleadgeth for *instance*, that the *Indians* subjected to their government, are not compelled to the *confession* or *acknowledgement* of their *Religion*: I reply, first, who sees not herein unchristian *partiality*, that *Pagans*, *Barbarians* (who happily might more easily be brought from their *natural Religion* to a new forme, then any other) I say, that they should be tolerated in their hideous *worships* of *creatures* and *devils*, while *civil people* (his countrymen yea it may be the precious *sons* and *daughters* of the most *high God*) shall be *courted*, *fined*, *whipt*, *banished* &c. for the matters of their *conscience* and *worship* to the true and living *God*? *The Indians professing subjection to the English in New England permitted in their devilish worships, when English fearing God, persecuted.*

2. Is not this passage *contradictory* to all Master Cottons whole discourse in this book, which pleades for the *purity* of *Religion* to be maintained by all *Magistrates* and *civil governments* within their *jurisdictions*, and the suppressing of the contrary, under the penalty of the *destruction* of their *lands* and *countries*, and accordingly hath not the practice of *New*

England answered such a *doctrine*? and yet, saith he, we tolerate the false *Religion* of *Jew* or *Gentile*.

Peace. Possibly (Dear Truth) the *distinction* between *Jew*, *Pagan*, and *Christian*, may satisfie (for the present) Master Cottons conscience so to write and practise: for thus he addeth, But [26] if *Christians* shall *apostate*, or if *Jews* and *Pagans* be blasphemous and seducing, then, &c.

Truth. Who knows not but that the very *Religion* of *Jew* or *Pagan* is a blaspheming of the true *Religion*? *Revel.* 2. [9.] I know the blasphemy of them that say they are *Jews*, and are not, but are the *Synagogue* or *church* of *Sathan*.

Unchristian
conclusions.

And whereas Master Cotton alleadgeth for proof of this, *Pauls* blaming of false *teachers*, for being *troublers* to the *churches* of *Galatia*, *Gal.* 5. [12.] and *Acts* 15 [24.] &c. Who, that puts this *inference* into *Christs* balance, but will see the lightness of it, thus? The *churches* of *Christ* are to draw forth the *sword* and *power* of *Christ*, and are not to suffer such as with false *doctrine* trouble their *peace*, *Ergo*: Therefore the *civil state* must not permit such persons to live in the *world*, &c.

Jonahs
casting
over-board
a ground
of persecu-
tion, &c.
examined.

Peace. The second cause I remember, you alleadged of civil *disturbances* and *hubbubs* about *Religion*, was the *preposterous way* of healing of *corruptions* in *Religion*, as by *whips*, *stocks*, *imprisonment*, &c. unto this Master Cotton answers, Then the *Mariners* casting *Jonah* over-board, for his sin was the *cause* of the *storme*.

Truth. I answer, if that *extraordinary* and *miraculous instance*, be sufficient ground for *Magistrates* cast-

ing over-boord whomsoever they judge *Hereticks*, then all civil *states* and *ships* must so practise in *stormes* and troubles on *sea* or *shore*, to wit, throw over-boord, put to death, not only *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers* &c. but the best of *Gods Prophets* or *servants*, for neglect of their *duty*, *Ministry*, &c. which was *Jonahs* case.

And if so, doth not this set up (and all the world over) by *land* or *sea*, all *Kings* and *Magistrates*, all *Masters* of *ships* and *captaines*, to be the *spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical Judges* of the *religion* and *spiritual* neglects of all their *subjects* or *Passengers*? Such doctrine I cannot imagine would have relished with Master *Cotton* in his passage to *New England*; and I humbly desire of God, that he may never tast the bitter fruit of this *Tree*, of which yet so many thousands of *Gods servants* have fed, and himself not a little (to the *Lords* praise and his own) in former times.

27] *Peace*. Whereas you argued it to be *light* alone, that was able to dispell and scatter the *mists* and *fogs* of *darkness* in the souls and *consciencs* of men, Master *Cotton* answers, The judgements of God are as *light* that goeth forth, *Hos.* 6. 3. *Isa.* 26. 9. and the false *Prophet* repenting will acknowledge this *Zech.* 13. 6. Thus was I wounded in the house of my friends.

Truth. But doth Master *Cotton* indeed believe that not only *publike Magistrates*, but also each private *father* and *mother* (as that place of *Zechary*, literally, taken carries it) must now in the dayes of the *Gospel* wound and pierce; yea run through and kill their *Son* the false *Prophet*? would he justifie a parent so practising though it were in the neglect of the pub-

*The killing
of the false
Prophet.
Zech. 13.
6. exam-
ined.*

like *Magistrate*, who happily may be of the same *Religion* with the false prophet? Will not this *doctrine* reach & extend to the pulling down *deposing* and *killing* of all such *governors* and *governments*, which *God* in his gracious *providence* hath set up amongst all peoples in all parts and *dominions* of the world, yea and harden the heart of *Pharoah*, the very *Pope* himself, in his *King-killing* and *State-killing doctrine*?

Peace. If ever Master *Cotton* wake in this point, he will tell all the *world*, that it is more *Gospel-like* that *Parents*, *Brethren*, *Fathers*, *Friends*, impartially fulfill this of *Zechary* 13. and *Deut.* 13. [6-10.] spiritually, in the friendly wounding, yea and zealous slaying by the two-edged *sword* of the *Spirit* of *God*, which is the *word* of *God* coming forth of the *mouth* of *Christ Jesus*, *Ephes.* 5. [6: 17.] *Revel.* 1. [16.]

Truth. And it is most true (as Master *Cotton* saith) that the *judgements* of *God*, legally executed, or more terribly poured forth in the vials of *sword*, *plague*, and *famine*, they are as heavenly *lights* shining out from the *Father* of *lights*, teaching the inhabitants of the world *righteousness*.

Esa. 26. &
Hof. 6. 2.
examined.

Yea the *creation* it self, or each *creature*, are as *candles* and *glasses* to light and shew us the *invisible* *God* and *creator*: but yet these are not the *ordinances* of *Christ Jesus* given to his *church*. These are not the *Preachings* of the *word*, and the opening of the *mysteries* of *salvation*, which give *light* and understanding to the simple, and convert the soul: These are not that marvellous *light* unto which the *call* of *Christ Jesus*, in the [28] *preaching* of the *word*, had

brought the *Saints* unto whom *Peter* writes: The weapons of *Pauls* fighting, whereby to batter down the high *thoughts* and *imaginations* of the *sons* of men against the *sons* of *God*, were of another nature, 3² *Cor.* 10. *Cor.* 10. and his *directions* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, how [4. 5.] to deal with *Hereticks* and *Gainfayers* were never heard of to be such, till the *son* of man, and *son* of *perdition*, brought forth such bloody *weapons* and bloody *doctrines* in the affaires of *Christ Jesus*.

Examination of CHAP. X.

Peace.

IN this passage Master *Cotton* will subscribe to the whole matter, saying, This Chapter may stand for us without impeachment, and yet in this Chapter is reported the *persecution*, which both *rightly informed* and *erroneous consciences* suffer, and the blind *estate* of such blinde *guides* and blinded *consciences* who so *preach* and *practice*.

Truth. These first words [*We approve no persecution for conscience*] fight against his whole endeavour in this book, which is to set up the *civil throne* and *judgement-seat* over the *consciences* and *soules* of men, under the pretence of preserving the *church* of *Christ* pure, and punishing the evil of *heresie*, *blasphemy* &c.

2. They fight against their *fellows*, which follow, thus [*unless the conscience be convinced of the error and perniciousness thereof*] which is all one, as to say, We hold no man is to be *persecuted* for his *conscience*, unless it be for a *conscience* which we judge danger-

ous to our *Religion*. No man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*, unless we judge that we have *convinced* or conquered his *conscience*.

*conviction
of con-
science.*

Tis true, all *errour* is pernicious many wayes to *Gods glory*, to a mans owne *soul*, to other mens *souls* and *consciences*: yet I understand Master Cotton to say, Except we judge the *error* to be so and so mischievous. Tis true, there is a *self-conviction* which some *consciences* smite and wound themselves with? But to sub-[29]mit these *consciences* to the *tribunal* of the *civil Magistrate*, and *Powers* of the *World*, how can Master Cotton do this, and yet say no man is to be persecuted for his *conscience*?

Peace. Alas, how many *thousands* and *millions* of *consciences* have been persecuted in all *Ages* and *Times* in a *judicial way*, and how have their *Judges* pretended *victory* and *triumph*, crying out, We have *convinced* (or conquered) them, and yet are they *obstinate*.

Truth. Hence came that hellish *Proverb*, That nothing was more *obstinate* then a *Christian*: under which *cloud* of *reproach* hath been overwhelmed the most faithful, zealous, and constant *witnesses* of *Jesus Christ*.

Peace. But saith Master Cotton, Some blinded *consciences* are so judicially punished by *God*, as his in *Ireland* that burnt his *child* in imitation of *Abraham*.

*The vio-
lation of
civil peace
though out*

Truth. In such *cases* it may be truly said, the *Magistrate* beares not the *sword* in vaine, either for the *punishing* or *preventing* of such *sins*, whether *unclean-ness*, *theft*, *cruelty*, or *persecution*.

And therefore such *consciences* as are so hardned

by Gods judgement, as to smite their fellow-servants, ^{of con-} under the pretence of zeale and conscience (as in the ^{science, to} instance of Saul his zeal for the children of Israel ^{be punish-} against the Gibeonites) they ought to be *suppreſt* and *puniſhed*, to be restrained and prevented.

And hence is ſeaſonable the ſaying of King Iames, that he deſired to be ſecured of the *Papiſts* concerning *civil obedience*,¹ which *ſecurity*, by wholeſome *Lawes*, and other wayes: according to the *wiſdome* of each *ſtate*, each *ſtate* is to provide for it ſelf even againſt the *deluſions* of hardned *conſciences*, in any *attempt* which meerly concerns the *civil ſtate* and *Commonweale*.

30]

Examination of CHAP. XI.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Maſter Cotton takes himſelf wronged, that he ſhould be thought to lay this down, as a *concluſion*, viz. that it is not lawful to perſecute *Ieſus Chriſt*.

Truth. What difference is there in ſaying, It is not lawful to perſecute a *conſcience rightly* informed, and to ſay, It is not lawful to perſecute *Chriſt Ieſus*; was it not all one in effect for *Chriſt* to ſay, Take up thy *bed* and walk, as to ſay, Thy ſins are *forgiven* thee?

¹ "I gave good prooſe that I intended no perſecution againſt them for Conſcience cauſe, but onely denied to be ſecured for civill obedience, which for conſcience cauſe they are bound to per-

forme." *Workes of the Moſt High and Mightie Prince James*, 248. London, 1616. Quoted in *Scriptures and Reaſons*, &c. *Publications Narraganſett Club*, iii: 31.

Peace. He adds, It is no matter of wonder to lay down the *principles* of Religion for a *proof*, as *Gamaliel* did.

Truth. Who sees not a vast difference between Master Cottons and Gamaliels speech? Gamaliel speaks of that particular *controversie* concerning *Christs* person and *profession*, which the *Iews* so gainstayed and persecuted. Gamaliel fitly aggravateth their *opposition* by the danger of their *course*, if possibly it might prove to be the *Truth*, which they persecuted. Master Cotton is to lay down not a *particular answer*, but *general conclusions*; and notwithstanding that in the *course* of his *Book* he maintaines such and such *persecution*, yet he layes this down as his first *conclusion*:
*An over-
ruling fin-
ger of God,
ordering
Master
Cotton to
alleadge
Gamaliel,
sure he had
forgotten
Master
John Good-
wins excel-
lent labour
in his
Θεομα-
χία
or fighting
against
God.*
John Good- “It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Iesus* in his *Truths* and *Servants*; and that, I say never *persecutor* professed to do without a *Maske* or covering.

Peace. What of that faith Master Cotton, for although they do not *persecute Christ* as *Christ*, yet they do it, and it is no matter of wonder to tell them as *Christ* tells *Paul*, It is not lawful for them so to do.

Truth. Doubtless whatever *persecutors* profess, and what *Apologies* soever they make in all the particular cases for which *Gods servants* are persecuted; yet the *Saints* of *God* have dealt faithfully to tell *Persecuters* that they persecute *Christ* himself, and to breath out

¹ John Goodwin, (1593–1655,) of Queen's College, Oxford, was ejected from the living of St. Stephens, Coleman street, London, for refusing the sacraments indiscriminately to his whole parish. He was a zealous republican,

and a warm Arminian. Lowndes (*Bibliographers Manual*, ii: 805,) gives a list of his more important works, not including this. Calamy, *Nonconformists Memorial*, i: 151, names it, but no copy is within the Editor's reach.

the fire of Gods judgements against them, even out of their own mouth.

But what is this to a *conclusion* laid down? for so *Christ* laid [31] not down his *expostulation* with *Paul* as a *conclusion*, as Master *Cotton* doth by way of *teaching*, but as a *conviction*, by way of *reproofe*.

Peace. Yet *persecutors* (saith he) have persecuted *Christ* as *Christ*; for the *Scribes* and *Pharises* said, This the is *beir*, come, let us kill him: and *Iulian* persecuted *Iesus* as *Iesus*: And if a *Christian* in *Turkie* shall seek to gaine a *Turke* to *Christianity*, they will persecute such a *Christian*, and in him *Iesus* as *Iesus*.

Truth. It is said *Acts* 3. [17] that the *Iews* persecuted *Christ* out of *ignorance*; for though they had sufficient knowledge to convince them, yet did they not persecute *Christ* out of a clearely *convinced conscience*, for then it could not be out of *ignorance*. And yet it was sufficient, that so great a power of Gods Spirit appeared in the *evidence* of *Christs works*, as to make their *sin* to be against the *Spirit* of *God*: yet had they their *mask* and *covering* (as is evident:) For, this is not the true *Christ* or *Messiah*, say they, but a *deceiver*, a *witch*, working by the power of the *devil*, a *blasphemer*, a *seducer*, a *Traitor*, &c.

Againe, although wretched *Iulian* persecuted the very name of *Christ* and *Iesus* (whom formerly he had acknowledged and professed) Yet was it still under a *mask* or *covering*, to wit, that he was not the true *Son* of *God*, nor his *worship* the *Truth*, but his *Roman gods* were true &c.¹ And the same say the

¹ The Emperor Julian never had any sincere faith in Christianity. "The Christianity which he naturally possessed, a Christianity that turned wholly on ex-

Turkes in persecuting *Christians*, and in them *Christ Iesus* as a *Prophet* inferiour to their onely great and true *Prophet Mahomet*.

And lastly, neither *Scribes*, nor *Pharisees*, nor *Iulian*, nor *Turkes*, did or do persecute *Christ Iesus* otherwise then as they were and are bound so to do by *Master Cottons doctrine*, as shall further appear, notwithstanding his *plea*, that such *Magistrates* must forbear to punish untill they be better informed.

Peace. But let *tyrants* and *persecutors* profess what they will (saith *Master Cotton*,) yet this varieth not the *truth*, nor impeacheth the *wisdome* of the *conclusion*.

Cant. 5.

[2.]

I sleep yet
my heart
waketh.

Truth. Sweet *peace*, how can I here chuse, but in the first place observe that great *mystery* of the *waking sleep* of the most precious servants of the most high God, in the affaires of his *worship*, and the *Kingdome* of his dear Son? Awake; for what fiery 32] *censures* justly poureth forth this our excellent Adversarie against the oppressours of *conscience*, entitling them with the names of *tyrants* and *persecutors*, notwithstanding their vaine *professions*, *pretences*, *apologies* and *pleas* for their *tyranny* and *Bloodshed*? Againe, how fast asleep, in his so zealous pleading for the greatest *tyranny* in the *world* (throughout his whole book) though *painted* and *washed* over with faire *pretences* &c?

2. He granteth upon the point the *truth*, which was affirmed, and he denied, to wit, that no *persecutor* of *Christ* ever persecuted him as the *Son of God*,

ternals, could easily make the transition to Paganism. Julian was converted from being an outward Christian with a secret leaning to Paganism, of which perhaps

he was himself unconscious, into a decided and zealous Pagan." Neander, *Church History*, ii: 40.

as *Iesus*, but under some *mask* or covering, as thousands of black and bloody *clouds* of *persecuting witnesses* in this case most lamentably make it evident and apparent.

Peace. Master *Cottons* next *charge* is very heavy against the *discusser*, for exalting himself above *God* in the discerning of Master *Cottons* fellowship with *persecutors*, notwithstanding his *profession* against such *persecution*.

Truth. The Lord *Jesus* saw in the *Jews* such a *contrariety* between their *professions* and *practises* (even in this case of *persecution*) Mat. 23. [29-31.]

2. Himself in effect, but even now, said the same of all *persecutors*: [What ever pretences they make, faith he] and they will pretend great things of love to *Christ*, and kiss him ten thousand times, when *trea-*^{A deep}
sons and *slaughters* are is [arise?] in their courses. And ^{mystery in}
^{persecu-}
^{tion.} will Master *Cotton* say that *Christ Iesus* exalted himself above *God*, in spying out so great a *mystery*? It is no new-thing, that Master *Cotton* should be apt to say with *David*, That man that hath done this thing shall die, not duely considering and pondering that our selves are *sons* of *blood*, and children of *death*, condemned by our own *mouth*, if the righteous *Iudge* of the whole world should deal severely with us.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* (for a close of this Chapter) complaines of his own suffering of bitter *persecution*, and the *Lord Iesus* in him, being unjustly slandered, except the *discusser* can prove, that any *doctrine* of his tendeth to persecute any of the *servants* of *Christ*.

Truth. Let a mans *doctrine* and *practise* be his wit-

nesses, and let every soul judge in the fear of God, whether the *doctrine* of [33] this *Book* maintaining such and such a *persecution* to be an holy *truth wash'd white* in the *blood* of the *Lamb*, agree not lamentably with all their *imprisonings*, *banishings*, &c. inflicted upon so many several sorts of their own *countrimen*, *friends*, and *brethren* in the *wilderness*, for matter of *Religion* and *conscience*; amongst which the *Lord Jesus* will be heard at last to have said, Why persecutest thou *me*? why banishest and whippest thou *me*, &c?

2. Will not all persecuting prelates, *Popes* &c. take heart from hence (according to their several *religions* and *consciences*) to persecute the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, &c. although they all will say with Master *Cotton*, It is not lawful to persecute a *conscience* rightly informed, that is, *Christ Jesus* in his *truths* or *servants*?

Peace. But the discussor (saith Master *Cotton*) is a bitter *persecutor*, in slandering him, and *Christ Jesus* in him, for a *persecutor*.

*Wolves
complaining
that
the sheep
persecute
them.*

Truth. I see not but Master *Cotton* (though of *Dauids spirit*) may be guilty of *Sauls* lamentable complaint, that *David* persecuted him, and that he could finde none to *pity* him? Who knows not that all and our own *Popish Bishops* in *Queen Maries*, yea and of late times our *Protestant Bishops* against the *non-conformists* have been wont to cry out, what bitter *persecution* themselves have suffered from the *slandorous censures* and *reproaches* of the *servants* of *Christ Jesus* against them? Who yet have shot no other *arrowes* at them but the faithful *declarations* and *discoveries* of Gods holy truth, and the evil of the

*opposing and persecuting of it, and the professors of it? And how neer will Master Cotton be found to close with that late bloody Woolfe (so far as his chaine reached) Bishop Laud, who being an instrument of the bloody hunting and worrying of those three famous witnesses of Christ, Master Prin, Master Bastwick, and Master Burton; yet at their publike sentence in the Star-chamber, he lamentably complained that those poor Lambs did bark and bite him with unjust reproaches, slanders, &c.*¹

34]

Examination of CHAP. XII.

Peace.

MAfter Cotton here first complaineth that his words are *mis-reported* concerning the *punish-*

¹ William Prynne, a barrister, who had written against theatrical amusements, John Bastwick, a physician, who had written a book denying the divine right of bishops above presbyters, and Henry Burton, a clergyman, who had published two sermons reflecting on the proceedings of the hierarchy, were each brought before the High Commission in 1633-4, and sentenced to very severe punishment. All were imprisoned and fined, and Prynne suffered mutilation. In 1637 they were brought before the Star-chamber, charged with having employed their leisure in prison in writing against the hierarchy. They were condemned "and the Court proceeded to sentence and fined each of the defendants Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, 5000 l. apiece to the King, and adjudged the two latter to stand in the Pillory at Westminster, and then to lose their ears; and that Mr.

Prynne having once lost his ears before by sentence of this Court, Anno 1633, whereof he was now sentenced to have the remainder of his ears cut off, and also it was decreed that he should be stigmatized on both cheeks with S. L., signifying a Seditious Libeller. And in June 30 the above named three defendants lost their ears, the hangman rather sawing off the remainder of Prynne's ears, than cutting them off." All three were also to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest prisons of the kingdom. Rushworth, *Hist. Collections*, ii: 382: Neal, *History of Puritans*, i: 317, 327; Hallam, *Const. Hist. of England*, 259.

Archbishop Laud in passing sentence made a laboured speech, defending himself against the accusations of the Puritans, and complained of "this Malicious Storm, which hath lowred so black upon me." Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, ii: 383.

ment of the *heretick* after once or twice *admonition*, *Tit. 3. 10.*

Truth. I desire that others may judge in three *particulars*.

First, whether the *summ* and *pith* of the words are not rendred.

2. Whether this *Titus 3.* was brought by Master Cotton to prove (as is now pretended) that an *Heretick* might be persecuted with an *excommunication* after once or twice *admonition*: or whether the *question* be not of another kind of *persecution*.

3. Whether that *Tit. 3. 11.* do hold forth, That although a man be a *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *seducer*, he may be punished with a *Civil* or *corporeal punishment*, yea though he sin against his own *conscience*.

I add a fourth, whether indeed (as Master Cotton intimates) the *discusser* makes this *Tit. 3* a *refuge* for *hereticks*. Great *found* and *noise* makes this word *heretick*, *heretick*. I dare appeal to Master Cottons *conscience* and *memory*, whether the reading of *histories*, and the *experience* of time will not evince and prove, that *hereticks* and *Christians*, *hereticks* and *Martyrs* (or witnesses of *Christ*) have not been the same *men* and *women*: I say againe, that such as have been *ordinarily* and *commonly* accounted and persecuted for *hereticks*, have been the servants of the most *high God*, and the *followers* and *witnesses* of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

*The blood
of the souls
under the
Altar is a
sealed myf-
tery, Rev.
6. [9.]*

Peace. You know (*dear truth*) the *catalogues* of *hereses* and *hereticks* extant, &c.

Truth. Grant it (*sweet peace*) that some in all times have suffered for *erroneous conscience*. Yet I dare

challenge the father of *lies* himself to disprove this ^{A chal-} assertion, That the most of such (beyond all com- ^{lenge to the} parison) that have ever suffered in this *world* for *here-* ^{devil him-} *ticks*, have been the disciples and followers of *Christ* *Jesus*. And oh that not only the *Lions*, *Leopards*, the *Bears*, *Woolves*, and *Ty-*[35]*gers* (the bloody *Pharoahs*, *Sauls*, *Herods*, *Neroes*, *Popes*, *Prelates* &c.) should fetch from hence, their persecuting *arrows* ^{All Anti-} and *commissions*, but that even the *Davids*, the men ^{christian} after *Gods* own *heart*, the *Asa's* (whose *hearts* are ^{bunters or} *perfect* with *God*) that such as are the *sheep* and *lambs* ^{persecutors} of *Christ*, should be so monstrously changed and trans- ^{3. their} formed into *lyons*, *beares*, &c. yea and should flie to ^{den and} this holy Scripture of *Tit.* 3. for this their *unnatural* and monstrous change and *transformation*.

Examination of CHAP. XIII.

Peace.

IN this 13 Chapter, dear truth, you argue the great mistake of the *world* in their common clamour, an *heretick*, an *heretick*, a person *obstinate* in *fundamentals*; and you prove that this word *heretick* intends ^{Tit. 3.} no more then a person *obstinate* against the *admoni-* ^{Discussed.} *tions* of the Lord, although in lesser *matters*: upon this Master *Cotton* concludes in this 13 Chapter, that the discusser gives a larger *allowance* for proceeding against *erroneous* persons then himself did.

Truth. I must deny that the discusser gives a larger *allowance* then Master *Cotton*, or any at all, that the

hereticks or *obstinate persons* should be dealt withall by the Civil *Magistrates* of *Crete*, but onely by the spiritual power of the *Lord Jesus*.

1. For first, What though I granted that an *obstinate person*, contending about *Genealogies*, ought not to be suffered, but after once or twice *admonition* ought to be *rejected*? And,

2. What though I grant that after such faithful *admonitions* once or twice, he cannot but be condemned of himself? yet according to his third answer, how will it appear that I grant, that an *heretick* is rightly defined to be one *obstinate* in *fundamentals*, when I maintaine, and Master *Cotton* seemeth to grant, that the *heretick* may be such an one as is *obstinate* in *lesser points* and *practises*?

3. Further, let the word ἐξερριπται imply an overturning, yet will it not follow, that therefore an *heretick* is he, who is wil-[36] fully *obstinate*, in holding forth such *errors* as subvert the *foundation* of the *Christian religion*: For however that Master *Cotton* saith, That such *disputes* may tend to overthrow *Christianity*, yet that is but in remote *possibility*, as the prick of a *finger* may kill the *heart*, if it ranckle and fester, and so go on from *member* to *member* without means applied: yet this cannot be said to be a mortal *wound* at first. So is it in the *body* of *Christ*.

Peace. The Apostle discoursing of meats and drinks, of eating and drinking with *offence*, calls an offensive eating a *destruction* of the *soul* for which *Christ* died: and yet I suppose he will not say that that *difference* was a *fundamental difference*.

Truth. It hath been a gross and barbarous mistake

of the *monopolizers* of *learning*, both *divine* and *humane*, The Clergy both of *Popish* and *Protestant* *factions* and *worships*: And how many are the thousands of millions of *abuses*, *prophanations* and *blasphemies* against the *God of heaven* in all (the *Anti-christian*) *Christendome*, in all *preachings*, *writings*, *proceedings*, and *proceses*, touching this name *heretick*, *heresie*, &c? By the impartial *censure* of the *Lord*, he is an *heretick*, who wilfully persists in any sinful *doctrine* against the due *admonitions* of the *Lord*; for every *bit* and *parcell* of *leaven* is to be purged out of the house of *God*, as well as the greater and *fundamentall* lumps.

The horrible abusing and profaning of that word Heretick. Great sins of Gods own children.

Examination of CHAP. XIV.

Peace.

IT is a falshood (saith Master *Cotton*) that I call the slight *listnings* of *Gods* people to the *checks* of their *consciences*, their sinning against their *conscience*: for I speak not (saith he) of the sinning of *Gods* people against *conscience*, but of an *heretick* subverted, much less do I call their *slight listening* to *conscience* an *heretical* sinning against *conscience*, least of all do I say, that for *slight listening* to the *checks* of *conscience*, he may lawfully be persecuted as for sinning against his *conscience*. And he adds this *gall* to the former *vinegar*, Thus men that have time and *leasure* at will, set up *images* of *clouts*, and then shoot at them.

37.] *Truth.* Master *Cotton*, elsewhere, granteth that *Gods children* may (through *passion*, &c.) be carried

on to despise *admonition*, and may be *excommunicated*, and if so, how can they refusing of *Christs admonition* in the *church*, be excused from sinning against the self-condemning of themselves? For if a *child of God* may possibly be *excommunicated* for *obstinacy* in some *passion*, *temptations*, &c. then may he be this *heretick* or *wilfull* man in this *Tit. 3.*

Tis true, that in an *houre of great temptations*, *Gods* people may sin against clear *light of conviction*, and *sentence of conscience*, as *David* and *Peter*, &c. But (as I conceive) the holy Spirit of God in this 3 of *Titus* intends not such a *clearness* of *self-condemning*, but either that the *admonitions* of the *Lord* are so evident and clear, that either if he in his own *conscience* before *God* improved them seriously and duely, they would clear up the *truth* of *God* unto him: or else the *checks* of *conscience* are such as are recorded to have been (*Cant. 5.*) in the *members* of *Christ*, in the *Church* of the *Jews*; and *Master Cotton* cannot render a sufficient reason, why they may not also be found in the *members* of the *churches* of the *Christians*.

*A child of
God may
possibly be
an Here-
tick.*

Peace. I perceive indeed (dear truth) the wonderful effects of a *strange tongue*, in the *church* of *Christ*: The noise and sound of a *Greek* word *heretick*, in poor *English* eares, hath begot a *conclusion*, that a person refusing once or twice *admonition* for some point of *Doctrin*e, is such an *heretick* or *monster*, that he cannot possibly be a *child of God*; whereas *Master Cotton* granting that a *child of God* may possibly refuse once and twice *admonition*, and so come to be *excommunicated*; What doth he then in plaine *English*, but

say, that a child of *God* may be obstinate to *excommunication* or *rejection* (that is in Greek) be an *heretick*? And what is this but contrary to his former *Affertion*, that a childe of *God* cannot be heretically obstinate to *rejection*, &c.

Truth. Questionless no child of *God*, but in temptation, may sin *heretically*, that is, *obstinately* upon once or twice *admonition*, against the checks and whisperings of his own *conscience*, and against that evidence of *light*, which (afterward) he wondreth how he could despise: and this rejecting or casting forth of the visible *society* of *Christ Jesus* and his servants, is not for *destructi*-[38]*on* but *humiliation* and *salvation*, in the day of the *Lord Jesus*.

Peace. I judge, that no son of *peace*, in a sober and peaceable minde, can judge, as Master *Cotton* here doth, this to be an *image* of clouts.

Truth. Nor can I learn, that the discusser so abounded in time and *leasure*, as to make such *images* (as Master *Cotton* insinuates.) It is not unknown to many witnesses in *Plymmouth*, *Salem*, and *Providence*, that the discussers time hath not been spent (though as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labours, and publike *exercise* of the *word*, but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the How, at the Oare, for bread; yea and I can tell, that when these *discussions* were prepared for publike in *London*, his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the *Parliament* and *City*, for the supply of the poor of the *City* with *wood* (during the stop of coale from *Newcastle*, and the mutinies of the poor for firing.) 'Tis true, he might

For which
service
through
the hurry
of the times
and the ne-
cessity of
his depar-
ture, he
lost his re-
compence
to this day.
The
straights of
the discus-
sers time
in compo-
sing of the
Bloody
Tenent.

have run the rode of *preferment*, as well in *Old* as *New England*, and have had the leasure and time of such who eat and drink with the *drunken*, and smite with the fist of *wickedness* their fellow servants; But God is a most holy witness, that these *meditations* were fitted for publike view in change of *roomes* and *corners*, yea sometimes (upon occasion of travel in the *country*, concentering that business of *fuell*) in variety of *strange houses*, sometimes in the *fields*, in the midst of *travel*; where he hath been forced to gather and scatter his loose *thoughts* and *papers*.

Peace. Well (notwithstanding Master Cottons bitter censure) some persons of no contemptible *note* nor *intelligence*, have by letters from *England*, informed the *discusser*, that these *Images* of *clouds* it hath pleased God to make use of to stop no small *leakes* of *persecution*, that lately began to flow in upon dissenting *consciences*, and (amongst others) to Master Cottons own, and to the *peace* and *quietness* of the *Independants*, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed.

* I preju-
dice not the
free and
comforta-
ble supplies
of tempo-
rals, which
the Saints
ought to
make for
their
Teachers
in spirit-
uals; only
I affirme,

Truth. I will end this Chapter, with that famous *distinction* of the Lord *Jesus*; **Digging*, *Begging*, *Stealing*, are the three wayes by the which all that pretend to be *Christs Stewards* are maintained. They that cannot *digg*, can *begg* the glittering pre-[39]ferments of this present evil world, and the wages of *Balaam*. They that cannot *dig* can *steal*, in the wayes of *fraud*, *oppression*, *extortion*, &c. But by the mercy of the most *high*, the *discusser* hath been inabled to get his bread by as hard *digging*, as most *dig*—
I affirme, that such as will not teach without money, they must and do beg or steal.

gers in New or old *England* have been put to : and *Christ*
 let all men judge, whether such as can *beg* or *steal* ^{*Jesus his*}
 and cannot *dig* ; or such as chuse neither to *beg* nor ^{*distinction*}
steal, but *dig*, have most time and leasure to make ^{*of Diggers,*}
 such *images* of clouts, &c. ^{*Beggars,*}
^{*Stealers.*}

Examination of CHAP. XV.

Peace.

IN this passage (Dear Truth) we hear a sound of
Agreement ; Master *Cotton* consenteth, that this
 third of *Titus* evinceth no *civil rejection*, but *excom-*
munication out of the *Church* of *Christ* ; and he saith,
 That no fillable of his *conclusion* lookes at more.

And whereas it might be objected, That *excom-*
munication cannot fitly be called *persecution* : he an-
 swers yes, and quotes *Luk.* 21. 12. *John* 16. 2.

Truth. Were it not for the fierce hands of angry
Esaus, this shril sweet voice might pass for *Jacobs*.
 What ever Master *Cottons* ends and intentions were
 (of which I cannot but judge chatitably) the eye of
God alone discerneth, but for Master *Cottons* words,
 fillables and *arguings*, let all impartial *readers* and
consciencs judge of these four *considerations*.

First, Whether the word *persecution*, do not in all
 proper and ordinary speech signifie *penal* and *corpo-*
ral punishment and affliction.

2. Whether the point in question agitated between
 the *prisoner* and Master *Cotton* throughout the book,
 concern not only *penal* and *corporal* affliction : and
 whether it can be imagined, that the *prisoner*, or the

Persecution, not properly, nor usually taken for any spiritual punishment. *discusser*, or any that plead for the *purity of Christs ordinances*, could ever plead against *excommunicating* an *heretick* or wilful offender out of the *Church of Christ*: And although the Scriptures by Master *Cotton* quoted, do mention *ex-[40]communication*, as an unjust oppression; yet they speak also of *corporal afflictions, imprisonments*, bringing before *judgement-seats*, and killing also.

3. It could be told in what *countrey*, at a publike sentence of *banishment* of a certaine person, a text of Scripture, *Rom. 16. 17.* (parrallel with this of *Tit. 3.*) was alleadged by the chief *judge* in *court* for a ground (not of *spiritual excommunication*, but) of *civil*, out of the *Commonweal*.¹

4. Were it not more for the name of *God*, for the honour of his *truth*, and the comfort of Master *Cotton*, plainly and ingenuously to acknowledge his misapplying of this holy *Scripture* of *Tit. 3.* then to cover it by so thin and poor a plea, *viz.* that he intends by *persecution, excommunication* out of the *Church of Christ*?

¹ This of course refers to the sentence passed against Williams himself in the General Court of Massachusetts, Oct. 8, 1635. The judge was John Haynes, who was Governor that year. *Mass. Col.*

Records, i. 145, 161. The text reads, "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine ye have learned: and avoid them."

Examination of CHAP. XVI.

Peace.

MAfter *Cotton* here grants a *toleration* to *Jews*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, yea and *Antichristians*, with one exception, to wit, so that they continue not to seduce, &c.

Truth. But it must be remembred, that before and after he maintaines *persecution* against *Apostates*, *blasphemers*, and *idolators*, and then who knows not how all these four sorts, *Jews*, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, and *Antichristians*, are full of *blasphemy* and *idolatry*? Now in case they seduce not, they are to be persecuted as *idolaters* and *blasphemers*, how then are they to be tolerated?

Peace. It could not be (had not this holy man been catcht with sipping at the bloody cup of the great *whore*) that Master *Cottons* affirmations and *doctrines* should thus quarrel among themselves.

But further, I see not the equality of his yoaking the *Oxe* and the *Ass* together, when he further coupleth *seducing* of people into *worship* of false *Gods*, *confidence* of a mans own *merit*, &c. (which are *spiritual matters*) with *seducing* into *seditious conspiracies* against the *lives* and *estates* of such *Princes* [41] as will not submit their *conscience* to the *Bishop* of *Rome*.

Truth. Your observation (*dear peace*) is seasonable; the former are meer *Religious* and *spiritual*, the latter are meerly *civil*, against which the *civil state* is bound to defend it self with *civil weapons*.

Peace. In the next place Master *Cotton* chargeth the *discusser* with want of *reason*, *truth*, and *candor*,

for observing how unfitly those Scriptures of *Phil.* 3. [17.] *Rom.* 14. [1-4] are produced to prove a *tolleration* of lesser errors: And he affirms, that he never intended, that what the *Churches* might not tolerate, the *Cities* might not, &c.

Examina-
tion of
Phil. 3.
and *Rom.*
14.

Truth. The point is *tolerating* or *persecuting* by the *civil state*; whatever therefore be Master Cottons intentions, it is apparant, unless the *Cities* and *Churches* of *Rome* and *Philippi* be confounded together (as commonly they are in *case* of *persecution*) I say it is then apparent that there is no Scripture brought for the *civil state* its *tolerating* of *points* of lesser moment, nor are these Scriptures brought to any purpose in hand, but prophaned.

Peace. But observe his *Argument*, The *civil state* tollerates petty *theeves* and *lyers*, to live in *Towns*, *Cities* &c.

Very se-
vere, but
not Chris-
tian, more
then Juda-
ical punish-
ment of
Theeves in
England.

Truth. No well ordered *State* or *City* can suffer petty *Theeves* and *lyers* without some *punishment*, and we know how severely in the *State* of *England*, even *theeves* have been punished even with *death* it self; but Master Cotton is against such *cruelty*, for he pleades for tollerating of lesser errors, even in *points* of *Religion* and *worship*.

2. If *tollerating* of lesser *errours* be granted upon this ground, *viz.* till *God* may be pleased to manifest

“ In this country our antient Saxon laws nominally punished theft with death, if above the value of twelve pence; but the criminal was permitted to redeem his life by a pecuniary ransom. But in the ninth year of Henry the first this power of redemption was taken away,

and all persons guilty of larceny above the value of twelve pence were directed to be hung. So that stealing to above this value became a felony absolutely capital and so continued to our own times.” Stephen, *Commentaries on Laws of England*, iv. 187.

his *truth*; is not the same a ground for *tollerating* of greater, as the holy *spirit* of God argues 2 Tim. 2. trying if God may be pleased to give *repentance*?

Peace. Yea but (saith he) the greater will *infect*, and so is more dangerous, and the *tolleration* is the more unmerciful and cruel to the souls of many.

Truth. *Lyars* and *Theeves* infect also, even the *Civil state*, and a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lump; and therefore as the *Commonweal* ought not upon that ground to tolerate petty [42] *theeves* and *lyars*, so hath *Christ Jesus* provided in his holy *kingdom* and *City* against lesler evils, and upon this ground, that a little *leaven* will leaven the whole lump. But yet *Christ Jesus* hath not spoken (where he gives command for this thing to the *Corinthians* or *Galatians*, that such persons so leavened, should (together with their being put out of the *Church* for obstinacy in a little *leaven*) be put out of the *world* or *civil state*: (The one (the *Church* (being his *Garden*, the other, the *Commonweal*, being the high wayes, *Field*, &c. the proper place for men as men to abide in.)

Examination of CHAP. XVII.

Peace.

Concerning the holding forth of errour with an arrogant and boysterous *spirit* to the disturbance of *civil peace*, Master *Cotton* moderates the matter, that he would not have such put to *death*, unless the *civil peace* be destroyed, to the *destruction* of the *lives* and *souls* of men.

*The civil
and spirit-
ual life con-
founded.*

Truth. I cannot but here first observe the confounding of *heaven* and *earth* together, the *Church* and the *world*, *lives* and *souls*, &c. as if all were of *one nature*.

2. Neither blessed *Paul*, nor I, need to be accused of *cruelty* in that grant of *Paul*, if alleadged (*Acts* 25. [11].) for there will not be found ought but a willingness to bear a righteous sentence of *death* in some crimes committed against the *civil state*.

3. Master *Cotton* may here observe, how justly (as he speaks of the *heretick*) he condemnes himself, for it is too bloody a *Tenent* (saith he) that every man that holdeth *error* in a boysterous and arrogant way, to the disturbance of *civil peace*, ought to be punished with *death*. Is not this the whole scope of his discourse from *Deut.* 13. and other abrogated repealed *laws*, to prove (what was just and righteous in the land of *Israel*) so bloody a *Tenent* and course to be enforced in all *Nations* all the world over?

Peace. Master *Cotton* excepteth against that speech [But if the [43] matter be of a *spiritual* or *divine nature*.] There is no error, saith he, can be of *divine nature*, though it may be *spiritual*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* may hear *Solomon* here saying unto him, Be not overwise &c. [*Ecc.* 7. 16.]

For first, the words are not, If the *error* be of a *divine nature*, but if the *matter* (that is, the *controversie*, *cause* &c.) be of a *spiritual* or *divine nature*: which distinction between *humane* and *divine* things, I conceive is the same with that of *wisdom* it self dividing between *God* and *Cæsar*: Give to *God*, &c. [*Matt.* 22. 21.] And so, though no *error* be of a *spiritual* or *divine*

*God &
Cæsar.*

nature (taking the words in their highth) yet the *matter* in question may be of some *spiritual* or *divine* consideration, belonging to *God*, and his *worship*; and not concerning the *Commonweal* or *Civil state* of *men*, which belong to *Cæsars* care.

2. Taking *spiritual* as it is used sometimes in the holy *Scripture* as opposite to *flesh* and *blood*, I see no ground for that distinction, between *spiritual* and *divine*: *God* is a *spirit*, and the *spiritual* man discerneth All things: In such places and their like (to my understanding) *spiritual* and *divine* are the same thing.

Peace. But I marvel at the next passage: how can Master *Cotton* with any colour of *reason* or *charity* conceive the *discusser* so reasonless and senseless, as to intend by these words, [Such onely break the *Cities* or *Kingdomes* *peace*, as call for *prison*, and *sword* against *hereticks*?] as if (as Master *Cotton* infers and saith) that *murtherers*, *seditious* persons, *rebels*, *traitors*, were none of them such, viz. *Peace-breakers*.

Truth. This word [onely] can onely have a faire respect to such as are charged by their opinions of *Religion* and *worship* to break the *Peace* of the *Commonweale*, who (of what conscience soever they are) may freely enjoy their *conscience* and *worship* (either of many and false *Gods*, or of the true *God* in a false way) and yet not be guilty of the breach of *civil peace*, but onely they (I say they onely in this *consideration*) who by their *doctrine* and *practice* cry out for *prison*, and *fire* and *sword*, against *hereticks*, &c.

Peace. As the *devil* appeared an *Angel* of *light* in *Samuels* mantle, So *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prage*, are declared for *devils* with the pictured *devils* upon

*English
Diana's.*

their heads;¹ and under this cloud of *heresie* and black name of *hereticks*, most commonly have [44] suffered in all ages the true *messengers* of *Christ Jesus*. Thus cryed they out, *Acts* 17. [6.] These are they that have turned the *world upside* down, and are come hither also; and thus did they set the *City* all on an uproare. And *Acts* 19. not the *worshippers* of *Christ* fill'd the whole *City* with *confusion*, but the worshipers of *Diana*, who filled the *heavens* with that *Bedlam Out-cry* of two houres continuance, Great is *Diana* of the *Ephesians*.

Truth. With as little *reason* and *peaceableness* of *spirit* hath our *English Nation* used to cry *Great* is the *Church* of *Rome*, *Great* is our holy *Father* the *Pope*, *Great* the *Mafs*, *Great* the *Virgin Mary*, *Great* the *General Councils*, &c. And in later times, *Great* the *Church* of *England*, *Great* the *Christian Magistrate*, *Great* the *Ministry* and *Bishops* of *England*, *Great* the *swearing* and *covenant* of the people, &c. and such as dissent from us in these *points* and *practices*, persecute them as *hereticks*, and *disturbers* of the *common civil peace*.

Peace. In the rest of this Chapter, Master *Cotton* makes three *grants* with his *exceptions* annexed.

Truth. Please you (*dear peace*) to mention them in one, and accordingly I shall weigh them in the *balance* together.

Peace. 1. Saith he, The many *causes* which the *discusser* before wrote of, are all of them allowed, but

¹ This was a part of the degradation of *Hufs* from his office. As *Jerome* was a layman he had no such ceremony of degradation to undergo, but he went to

execution with the same sort of cap with horrid forms of devils painted on it. *Gilpin, Lives*, &c., 224, 253.

none of them concern holding forth of *errors*, which is the point in hand.

2. Saith he, It is easily granted that *they* do break the *Cities* or *kingdoms* peace, who cry out for *prisons* and *swords* against such who cross their judgement or *practice* in religion, to wit, saith he, unless their religion be of *God*, and the crossing of it be such as destroyeth and *subverteth* the Religion of *God*. *Gross partiality to private interests.*

3. It is also easily granted (saith he) that many complaine most who are most in fault themselves.

Truth. To these three I may answer thus in one. The *Mystery* of *preaching* or holding forth the witness of the *Truth* of *Jesus*, is interpreted by many to be the *Mystery* of the first seal, the *white horse*; and the being *persecuted* or slaughtered for the word of *God* and testimony of *Jesus*, to be the *Mystery* of the third seal, where the souls under the *Altar* cry to the *Lord* for *vengeance* against their *persecutors*. These *mysteries* are sealed up, and they are the *Lords letters*, not to be opened and read by every [45] one, but (as sealed *letters* be) by such to whom they are directed.

Peace. It follows therefore, that in the midst of all the cries of *Iews*, *Pagans*, *Turkes*, and *Antichristians* [Our Religion is the Religion of *God*: You are an *heretick*, you are a *persecutor*, We are true *Christians*, we are *persecuted*, &c.] that the hearts of *Gods* children must be comforted and staid up with the sight of this *Mystery*. And doubtless it is most commonly (though not alwayes) true, that the imprisoned, fined, whipt, banished, hanged, burned, &c. in

point of *Religion*, have been so inhumanely oppressed for the word of *God* and the *Testimony* of *Iesus*.

Our own *Chronicles*, *Records* of *England*, and blessed Master *Fox* will in part evidence to us, that scarce
England in all Ages guilty of much persecution. a *King* or *Queen* of *England* hath past since *Richard* the second his time, but the *blood* of the *witnesses* of *Iesus* more or less hath been spilt in their *Raignes*, as the blood of *Hereticks*, *Schismatics* &c. and but few drops of the blood of any *Heretick* indeed have fallen to the ground.

Truth. The *discusser* therefore humbly (to my knowledge) desireth according to Master *Cottons* wish to reflect upon his own way, and humbly to beg of *God* two things for himself, and all in any measure
Two seasonable petitions of any persecuted. censured and persecuted as *hereticks*.

First, *Iosephs* *innocency*, *purity*, *chastity*, in all those *points* and *questions* wherein they are charged and condemned *unclean*.

Secondly, *Iosephs* *patience* to bear the *accusations*, *censures*, *imprisonments* &c. from the *tongues* and *hands* of them who are notoriously *unclean* and *guilty* before the *zealous* and *revenging* eye and hand of *God*.

Peace.

MAny of the following leaves and Chapters (*dear truth*) are spent upon that great and heavenly parable of the *Tares*, a *knot* about which so many holy fingers, dead and living, have been so labori-

ously exercised, all professing to unty, yet some by seeming to *untie*, have tyed the *knot* the faster.

Truth. It is no wonder (*sweet peace*) to finde Master Cotton so intangled both in his *answers* and *replies* touching this *Parable*; for men of all sorts in former ages, have been so intangled before him: To which purpose, with thy patience I shall relate a notable passage recorded by that excellent *witnes* (or Martyr) of God, Master Fox in his book of *Acts* and *Monuments*: tis this, In the story of Master George Wisehart (that famous *Scotch witnes* of Christ Iesus) in the dayes of King Henry the eighth, there preached at the arraignment of the said Wisehart, one John Winryme, *subprior* of the Abbey of Saint Andrews, he discoursed on the Parable of the *Tares*, he interpreted the *Tares* to be *hereticks*; and yet contrary to this very Scripture (as Master Fox himself observeth, though elsewhere himself also maintaining it the duty of the *civil Magistrate* to suppress *hereticks*) I say the said Winryme concludeth that *hereticks* ought not to be let alone until the harvest, but to be *supprest* by the power of the *civil Magistrate*: So that memorable it is that both the *Popish Prior*, and that truly *Christian Fox*, were intangled in *contradictions* to their own *writings* about the interpreting of this Heavenly Scripture.¹

¹ George Wisehart suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews, March 26, 1546. At his trial John Winryme, sub-prior of the Abbey, preached from the 13th chapter of Matthew. "At the last he added, That Hereticks should be put down in this present life. To which Proposition the Gospel appeared to repugn, which

he intreated of: *Let them go into the Harvest*; the Harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless he affirmed that they should be put down by the Civil Magistrate and Law." Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 522. The inconsistency here alleged against Winryme is of a piece with his course afterward. "He

The Parable of the Tares.

*The
Parable
of Tares
grossly
abused.*

Peace. O what cause therefore have all that follow *Iesus* to beg of *Iesus* (as the *Disciples* did) the blessed *Key of David* to unloose this holy *mystery*? In the entrance therefore of this *discourse*, the *discussler*, observing *Master Cottons exposition* to be fallacious, and the *Tares* to be interpreted, either *persons*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, he blames that *Master Cotton* gives no argument for proof of such an interpretation: *Master Cotton* replies.

First, Neither did the *Author* of the letter give *reason* for his in-[47]*terpretation*. 2. That they both gave *one interpretation*. For the *Author* of the letter said, that some expounded the *Wheat* and *Tares*, to signify such as walk in *truth*, and such as walk in *lies*: now are not (saith *Master Cotton*) *hypocrites* and some corrupt *doctrines* and *practices* coincident with such as walk in *lies*, &c?

Truth. I answer, First it might be both their failing, not to strengthen their *interpretations* with some *light* and evidence from *Scripture* or *reason*, although the *Prisoners* failing the less, as being forced to write by *shifts* and *difficulties* in *prison*, and so the shorter, when *Master Cotton* had free *liberty* to enlarge and confirm without control, &c.

2. When the *prisoner* interprets the *Tares* to be such as walk in *lies*, it will be found evident upon examination, that he meaneth such as manifestly,

was an early convert to the protestant doctrines, but he neither abandoned his situation nor emoluments in the Catholic church; and when Knox, at the meeting of the Black and Grey Friars, demanded whether he conscientiously

considered the doctrines then called heretical contrary to God's word, he not only evaded the question, but argued on the popish side." Chambers, *Biog. Dict. of Scotsmen*, iv. 457.

openly, visibly walk in the true *profession* of *Christ-^{Hypocrisie} tianity*; and such as openly and visibly walk in the *secret and* *lyes* of false and *Antichristian doctrine* and *worship.^{open hypoc-}*

That distinction of *secret* and *open Hypocrisie* is seasonable: *secret*, implies such a *disimulation* as may lie hid under the true *outward profession* of *Christ Jesus*, as in *Judas, Simon Magus, Ananias* and *Sapphira* &c. *Open hypocrisie* implies the profession of the *man of sin*, sitting in the *Temple of God* (or over the *Temple of God*) pretending the *Name of Christ*, and yet apparantly and visibly, false and counterfeit, and but pretending, when such *pretences* and *shewes* are brought to the *Touchstone* of true *Christianity*.

Peace. Your *observation* is true, as also a second, That these hypocritical *doctrines* and *practices* are to be tollerated to the end of the world, this he sets down in *general*, not instancing in particular what *doctrine* and *practises* are to be tollerated: and on the other hand, the whole drift of his *Booke* main-taineth, that such *persons, doctrines* or *practices*, that are *idolatrours*, or *blasphemous*, or *infectious*, are not to be *tollerated* or permitted at all; which *passages* to my understanding have not *harmony* among them-selves: For what is all the whole *Religion* of every *Antichrist*, but a *Mass* or *Chaos* of *Hypocrisie, Idolatry, Heresie, Blasphemy, Poysons?* &c.

Besides, Master *Cotton* had dealt more plainly with this holy *Scripture*, if he had explained what he meant by such *doctrines* [48] and *practises* [comming neer the *truth*] and set down the *bounds* how neer as to make them *Tares*.

Truth. Dear *Peace*, Who knows not that the *weeds*

*Spiritual
whoredome
in worship
may and
doth in all
Nations
subsist with
Civil
Beings,
Relations,
&c.*

of the *wildernefs* come neer the *flowers* of the *Garden*, the *counterfeit* may come neer the *life*, and the *false mettall* the *true gold*? And though it be true that some *doctrines* and *practices* be not so *grofs* as other, yet they differ but (as the *Scripture* speaks) as *whores* and *whoremongers*, amongst themselves; some are more *proper*, and *fine*, and *young*, and *painted*; some are *old*, *deformed*, &c. And yet the *finest weeds*, *counterfeits*, and *whores* are unsufferable in the *Garden*, in the *Commonweale*, *house*, and *bed* of *Christ*: Though yet in the *civil Commonweale*, the vilest *spiritual strumpet* may challenge a *civil Being*, if in *civil* things unprovable.

Examination of CHAP. XIX.

Peace.

BUT in this Chapter, Master Cotton in the issue granteth, that the *Tares* signifie *persons*, by *Christ's* own interpretation: For [them that do *iniquity*] may seem to be an explanation of πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα, All *scandals*, that is, *persons* holding forth of *scandalous* and corrupt *doctrines* and *practices*, like unto true and sound.

Truth. Yet withall he chargeth the discusser with *lightnefs* and *inconstancy*, for endeavouring to prove that *corrupt doctrines* and *practices* are not to be tolerated, and yet, faith he, the *discusser* pleades that such *persons* ought to be tolerated. Whereas the discusser twice in this Chapter expressly distinguisheth between *toleration* in the *Church*, and *tolleration* in

the world, and affirmeth, that although the Church of Christ Jesus cannot tollerate either persons or practices which are false and Antichristian, yet the civil state, the world, ought to tolerate and permit both.

And therefore Master Cottons inconsiderate charge of contradiction will not stick, because of those divers respects or States, the spiritual and civil, as it was no contradiction in Christ Jesus, to affirme that Iohn Baptist was Elias, when Iohn himself affirmeth, that he was not Elias: For in several respects the [49] Negative of John, and the Affirmative of Jesus were both true.

Examination of CHAP. XX.

Peace.

IN this passage (to my understanding) Master Cotton after much seeming contestation and disagreement, yet in conclusion he shakes hands and agrees with the discussor in the maine point in question.

Truth. Your observation reacheth home; for let it be granted, that the Greek word *Zizania* should not signifie All weeds sprung up with the wheat, but one kind of weed, and that in special which Master Cotton saith, *Dioscorides* describeth: Let it be granted to be the same with *Lolium*, and that there is a great similitude between the Tares and the Wheat, while they are in the blade (some of which particulars are *Of the Tares.* controversial:) yet it no way opposeth that which the discussor maintaineth, to wit, the easiness of discerning these tares to be tares, when they are grown up to blade and fruit. And therefore Master Cotton at the last, confesseth that even these tares (*unknown*

[*known*] *hypocrites*) (according to his own *exposition*) ought to be suffered in the *church* of *Christ* to the *harvest* or end of the *world*.

Peace. I cannot but wonder how Master Cotton should once imagine, that it might possibly stand with the *order*, *piety*, and *safety* of the *profession* of *Christ Jesus*, that such a *generation* of known *hypocrites* should be perpetually suffered.

Truth. Doubtless the *Lord Jesus* was not of Master Cottons minde, who so vehemently warned his *followers* to take heed of the *leaven* of *hypocrisie*. Beside, if known *hypocrites* may be suffered and not cast out, Why may not known *hypocrites* be taken in? And what is then become of the true *matter* of the *church*, to wit, true *living stones* of a *spiritual life* and *nature*, so far as outwardly can be discerned?

Peace. This *assertion* hath so foule a *representation*, that Master Cotton is forced to draw this *vaile* over, and therefore he adds, untill the *fruits* of *hypocrites* grow *notoriously scandalous*.

50] *Truth.* I cannot fathom how these two agree: First, known *hypocrites* may be tolerated untill the *worlds* end; 2. *Tolerated* no longer, then untill the *fruits* of the *hypocrisie* grow *notoriously scandalous*: For will not all *reason* and *experience* ask this *question*: How comes it that this *friend*, *subject*, and *Spouse* of *Christ* is now a known *dissembler*, *traitor*, *whore*, unless by some *scandalous fruits* so declaring and uncaseing¹ of them? If the shameful fruits of the unclean person, 1 *Cor.* 5.]13.] were sufficient to de-

¹ Uncase,—to strip off the covering. tlety, &c.” Milton, *Of Reformation in England*. lib. ii. Works, ii. 47. (Bohn’s edition.)

nominate him a *wicked person*, why were they not sufficient to warrant *Paul* to say, *Put away* therefore that *wicked person* from amongst you?

Peace. But let us mind the Scripture quoted: If (saith Master *Cotton*) foolish *Virgins* be cast out of the *church*, the *wise Virgins* may be found sometimes sleeping as well as they.

Truth. Neither good *wheate*, nor *wise Virgins* are to be cast out of the *church* of *Christ*, while they appear to be so: yet since Master *Cotton* elsewhere grants, that a child of *God* (*good wheate, and a wise Virgin*) may so stand out against the *church* of *Christ* (in some passion) that he may be cast out &c. How much more then ought the *tares* and *foolish Virgins* (while so appearing) be excluded? Of the
wise and
foolish
Virgins.

2. If the *wise Virgins* be received into *heaven*, as the *foolish* shut out, will it not evidently follow (even the contrary to that for which Master *Cotton* alleadgeth this Scripture) to wit, That when *hypocrites* are discovered, they are to be *kept* out, and consequently to be *cast* out of the *church* of *Christ*? except Master *Cotton* will say, that the *kingdome* of *Christ* on *earth*, may receive and keep in her *bosome* such stinking *weedes*, declared so to be, which the *kingdome* of *Christ* in *heaven* abhors.

Who questions, but while the *hypocrisie* of these *foolish Virgins* lay hid in their empty *vessels*, that outwardly they appeared as *wise* as the *wise Virgins*? But when the *fruits* of their *hypocrisie* discovered them to be *fools*, how can Master *Cotton* (according to the truth as it is in *Jesus*) affirme, that *foolish Virgins* (*known hypocrites*) are to be kept in and not cast

out of the *church* of *Christ* unto the end of the *world*?

Peace. O how contrary is this to the very *fundamentals*, *essence*, *nature* and *being* of a *church* or *Spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, [51] which is (by the *confession* of *Papists* and *Protestants*) a *society* of *wise Virgins*, *visibly Saints* holy and faithful persons, a *society* of such persons as outwardly profess to love *Christ Jesus* uprightly (*Cant.* 1. [4.]) and to be espoused to him, 1 *Cor.* 11. [3.]

No true
church of
Christ con-
sisting of
visible hyp-
ocrites.

Truth. Yea, and how contrary is this to the nature of *Christ Iesus*, whose *heart* is all one *fire* towards the *daughters* of *Ierusalem* (*Cant.* 4.) and how contrary to the *charge* that great and solemn *charge* of the *Lord Iesus* to all his followers, to take heed of that *leaven* which is *hypocrisie*, which if suffered, will leaven the whole *lumpe*, and render the *garden* and *spouse* of *Christ* a filthy *dunghill* and *whore-house* of rotten and stinking *whores* and *hypocrites*.

Examination of CHAP. XXI.

Peace.

MAfter *Cotton* here endeavors to prove (as many have done before) that the *Field* which the *Lord Iesus* interprets the *world*, was meant by him to be the *Church*, as he is said to love the *world*, *Iohn* 3. [16.] to be propitiation for the sins of the *world*, 1 *Ioh.* 2. [2.]

Truth. In these and many other places of like nature, it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* to set forth his

love to mankinde, distinct from all other *creatures*: As also the *impartiality* of his *love*, calling his chosen out of all sorts of *sinners*, *mankinde* all the world over: and yet it cannot be denied, but that the Scriptures ^{*The field of the World.*} speak frequently of the *world* and of the *church* in a far distinct and contrary *acceptation*. So, as when he nameth the *church*, it cannot signifie the *world*; and when the *world*, he cannot be said to intend the *church*, the *reasons* therefore on either side must be expended and weighed in the fear of *God*, why the *Field* here called by *Christ* the *world*, cannot be intended to be the *church* of *Christ*.

Peace. Your *right distinguishing* is a *right dividing* of the *word* of *Truth*; but (saith Master Cotton) it cannot be the *world* in proper signification; for which he aleadgeth three reasons.

52] First, Because there had been (saith he) no place for the servants wonder at the appearing of the *tares* verse 27. for what wonder that the *world* should be so full of *fornicators*, &c? Was it ever otherwise?

Truth. It is true, that the *world* lyeth in *wickedness*, and is full of *fornicators*, *idolaters*, &c. and yet it was some thousands of yeers when the world was not full of *Christian*, that is, *anointed*, or *holy fornicators*, *holy idolaters*, &c. That is indeed and truth *Antichristian*, and that alone is the point in question, about which this answer of Master Cotton hovers, ^{*The mystery of Antichristians or false Christians.*} but comes not neer it. This is indeed a most dreadful and *wonderful point* of the *wisdome*, *justice*, and *patience* of *God*, so to suffer so many millions of men and women, to arrogate to themselves the *name* and *profession* of the most *holy* living *God*, and his *holy*

Son *Christ Iesus*, to be called *Christians*, *anointed* or *holy*, and yet upon the point to hate the *holiness*, *truth*, and spirit of *Christ Iesus*.

Truth. This is doubtless to me (what ere Master Cotton imagines) a wonderful *mystery* in all *Ages* since these *tares* were first sown, to see, I say, so many *millions* of holy *idolaters*, holy *murderers*, holy *whoremongers*, holy *theeves*, &c.

The *blasphemy* of this is so wonderful and dreadful, that I cannot sufficiently *wonder* at him that *wonders*, not how this comes to pass.

Truth. The like I answer to his second *Reason*, that it is true that we read not that ever any of the *Ministers* or *Prophets* of *Christ* ever essayed to pluck up all such *vicious* notorious persons out of the *world*, as they demanded concerning the *tares*, for then indeed as the *Spirit* implies, 1 *Cor.* 5. [10.] the whole state of the *world* would be overthrown ;¹ but yet this hinders not, but there may be a *desire* in *Gods servants* to pluck up this or that sect or sort of people, *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Antichristians*.

Peace. Dear *Truth*, you make me call to minde the desire of *Christs disciples*, that fire might descend from *heaven*, not to consume all *fornicators*, *idolaters*, all *cruel* and *unclean persons* out of the *world*, yet that particular, *unmerciful*, *superstitious Town* of the *Samaritans*, they desired that *fire* might come from *heaven* and consume them.

Truth. Indeed this *desire* of the *disciples* is no strange

¹ "I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world: for then must ye needs go out of the world." 1 *Corinthians*, v. 9, 10.

desire, [53] for what else do All they desire, which permit not in the *civil state*, any *Religion*, *worship* or *conscience* but their own? Nay far beyond that, were the whole *worlds neck* under their imperial *yoake* (the many *millions of millions of blasphemers*, and *idolaters* of all sorts) if they will not be convinced at their *word*, must be cut off from all *natural* and *civil* being in the world, by *Fire* and *Sword*.

Master
Cotton
knows not
his own
desire.

Peace. His third reason is, That the discusser reckoned up as paralel *goats* and *sheep*, *wheate* and *tares* (as generally, said he, others do) and he addeth, that in the purest *church* after the *ruine* of *Antichrist*, there shall be *goats* and *sheep*, *wise* and *foolish Virgins*, untill the coming of *Christ* to judgement, *Mat. 25. [32. 33.]*

Truth. Although the discusser spake of that eternal *separation* between *wheat* and *tares*, *sheep* and *goats* approaching; yet he never said, that the *tares* and *goats* signified *hypocrites* in the Church, which is the point in *question*: Nor dare I subscribe to that opinion, that after the *destruction* of *Antichrist*, when purest times of the *church* shall come, that there shall be such a mixt estate in the *church* of *Christ*, untill the coming of *Christ* to judgement.

For first, Although *goats* were clean for *food* and *sacrifice*, yet it is apparant, that as they are for the *left hand*, So they are visibly known by every child, where *goats* and *sheep* are kept. And to image that visible *hypocrites*, such as *tares*, *goats*, *unprofitable servants*, *foolish Virgins* &c. shall in a mixt way make up *Christs church*, and that in the purest times of the *church*, of which there are so many and wonderful

prophecies, is to me not onely to frame a *church estate* point blank croſs to the purity of thoſe *churches*, but even to the firſt *Apoſtolical churches*, yea and againſt that *frame of church estate* in *New England*, where Maſter Cotton hath profeſſed (though now it is ſaid the door is wider) againſt receiving in ſuch members as are viſibly *fooliſh Virgins*, *goats* &c.¹

Peace. Maſter Cottons ſecond answer is, that if the Field be the *world*, as the *tares Antichriſtians* and falſe *Chriſtians*, yet they were firſt ſown in the field of the *church*.

*The firſt
riſe of An-
tichriſtians
argued.*

Truth. Not ſo : for although there might be many *infirmities* and *diſtempers*, yea ſome great *corruptions* in the firſt *Chri- [54] ſtian body* the *church of Chriſt*; notwithstanding that *Antichriſt* is an *Apoſtate*, yet it will not follow, that the *tares* were firſt ſown in the true *church*, becauſe *Sathan* might eaſily raiſe up ſome *profeſſors* of the name of *Chriſt*, which the true church would never admit. And as *Sathan* might raiſe up *perſons*, *congregations*, *worſhips*, which were not according to *Chriſt*; So might he eaſily raiſe up *churches*, *congregations* and *ſocieties* of ſuch *tares* with whom the *churches* of *Chriſt* might reſuſe ſociety. So ſaith *John*, There are many *Antichriſts*, whom yet we cannot well imagine that they were in the *churches* of the Lord *Jeſus*.

¹ “ It is conſented on both ſides, that it is the duty of all the members of the particular viſible Church, and neceſſarie both by Divine Commandment, and as a neceſſary means of their own ſalvation, to be truly regenerate.”

“ As for ourſelves, though we neither

dare, nor will deny that we doe receive ſome Hypocrites; yet neither alwayes, nor known Hypocrites, nor with allowance of ourſelves therein, if we ſhould ſo do.” Cotton, *The Holineſſe of Church Members*, pp. 1, 79. London, 1650.

There came false *Apostles* to the Church at *Ephesus*, but yet that *church* examined and found them *lyars*. And so long as the *churches* were watchful, those *tares* kept in the *world*. But when the *churches* began to be sleepy, the *Tares* might undiscerned creep into the *church*.

This may be as well, as when *Apostates* fall off from the *church*, go out from it, because they were never of it: and also as well as that the *church* of *Christ* may drowsily neglect to purge out the old leaven of *persons* and things, which may soon overspread and over-run the whole *lumpe* and garden of the *church* of *Christ*, untill it be turned againe into one common field of the *world* together.

Peace. Master *Cottons* third answer is, That *Antichristians* must not be tolerated unto the end of the *world*, because *God* will put it into the heart of faithful *princes* to hate the *whore*; and after that, we read of a visible state of *New Jerusalem* before the end of the world, *Rev.* 20. 21, 22.

Truth. It is not said, that those *princes* that shall hate the whore shall be *faithful princes*: and since Master *Cotton* seems to hold that by way of *ordinance* (and so in *obedience*) the *Kings* of the *earth* shall with the sword destroy *Antichrist*, I desire his proof for any such prophecy. For,

1. It is not said, that *God* will put it into their hearts, to hate the *whore*. And we finde that they shall hate the *lambe*, as well as hate the *whore*. For they shall make war with the *lambe*, and the *lamb* shall overcome them, as comes to pass after the ruine of the whore, *Rev.* 19.

The judgement of the great whore.

2. *Judgement* may be executed upon the whore by way of [55] *mutual judgement* each upon others, when in the midst of their *spiritual whoredoms*, and *drunkenness* with the *Saints blood*, they shall fall out with the *whore* (as useth to be in *whoredome*) and turn their *whorish loves* into *outragious fury*; and the very description of their fury looks this way, for it is not the property of *sober* and *faithful* men (though repenting of their whoredom) to make a *woman* naked (though a *whore*) and to eat her *flesh*, as it is said, those shall do.

But grant (as we most hopefully do) the *whores consumption* by the ten hornes of the *Beast*, and the flourishing of new *Jerusalem* upon the earth (*Rev.* 20. 21, 22.) before the end of the world (all which are great disputes among the people of *God*) yet I judge it necessary that two or three *queries* be satisfied for the further clearing of the holy minde of the *Lord* in this particular.

1. Whether (as some have and do argue) the end of the *world* in this Parable and other Scriptures do expresly and undeniably signifie the end of the world and *judgement-day* literally, and not some other mystical *period* of *time*, since the word *Αἰών* (usually translated *world*) is of various *signification*, and sometimes signifies an *Age*.

2. Whether those ten *Kings* which shall destroy the *whore*, shall be absolutely *Christian*, true *Saints*, *followers* of *Jesus* they and their Armies, or else remaining *Antichristian* hornes of the *Beast*, shall yet execute the *judgement* of *God* upon the great *whore*: as *Jehu* remaining both hypocritical and idolatrous,

yet dasht out the braines of that great whore *Iezabel*, and executed judgement upon *Baals Priests*: yea and even as *Henry* the eighth tumbled the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and thousands of his *Popelings* with him, he supprest and threw the *whore Iezabel* the *church* of *Rome* out of *Englands* window, and yet continued to burn the *Saints* of *Iesus* upon his six *Popish* and *bloody Articles*.¹

3. Whether that mighty *Army* of *Gog* and *Magog*, which is mustered up after the thousand yeers raigne of *Christ*, be not in part made up of the ten hornes, even after the whore of *Romes consumption* (as before in *Henry* the eighth his case) which horns with their peoples *Christ* will have yet to be tolerated as *Tares* 56] in the field of the *world*, though not in the Church of *Christ*.

Peace. What think you of Master *Cottons* grant, that the first fruits of *Antichristians* may be *tares* sown in the field of the *church*, which afterwards grow to be *Briars* and *Thornes*?

Truth. I observe that to be *tares*, of *Antichristian worshippers*, and *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*) are both of them of a false and *Antichristian* nature, which ought to be far from *imitation* of the *Rose* of *Sharon*, or the *Lily* of the *vallies*.

¹ "The bloody act of the Six Articles," or "the whip with six strings," as it was called by the Protestants, passed through Parliament in June, 1539. It was drawn up by the King and a Commission of the Bishops, though Mr. Froude charges the extreme severity of the penalties on the bishops rather than the King. The first article established

the doctrine of the Real Presence, and whoever denied it was to suffer death by burning, with no privilege of abjuration, or benefit of clergy. It was opposed by Cranmer, and called forth a brave protest to the King from Melancthon. Froude, *Hist. of England*, iii. 393-400. For Melancthon's protest, see Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 413-417.

But 2. Are there no *tares*, that is, hypocrites, but in the *church*; and must all the *briars* and *thornes* (*oppressors* and *persecutors*, &c.) have no root from the wilde world, but from the garden of *Christs church*?

Peace. Now whereas it was urged, that it stood not with the *wisdome* and *love* of *Christ*, interpreting this parable, and opening what the field was, to call the *field* the *world*, when he meant the *church*: Master *Cotton* answers, that *Paul* by the same *wisdome* useth the same word, 2 *Cor.* 5. [19] God was in *Christ* reconciling the *world* unto himself.

Truth. *Paul* in using that figure of the *world* for all sorts of men in the *world*, doth not undertake to interpret a *Parable*, which before he had proposed unto (and at the request of) the *Corinthians*, as the *Lord Iesus* doth at the request of his *disciples*.

And where Master *Cotton* saith, that it is no more an improper speech to call the *church* the *world*, then to speak of *Christ* as dying for the *world*, when he dyed for the *church*.

Truth. I finde it not to be said, that *Christ* died for the *world*, but grant that it hath pleased the *Lord* in his most infinite *wisdome*, to cause the tearm of the *world* to be used in *various significations*; yet let any instance be given of any *Scripture*, wherein the *Lord* opposing the *church* to the world, the *wheat* to *tares*, doth not distinguish between the *church* redeemed out of the world, and the world it self, which is said to lye in *wickedness*, and to be such as for which *Christ Iesus* would not pray, *Iohn* 17. [9.]

57]

Examination of CHAP. XXII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter was urged the *scope* of the Lord Iesus, to wit, to foretell the *Antichristian state* opposing the true *Christian church* and *worship*, as also to comfort and strengthen the *hearts* of his *followers*, against the *grievances* arising therefrom; and where it was urged that the *church* consisteth onely of good ground, and that the three sorts of *Bad ground* visibly so declared, are properly in the *world*, and not in the *church*, Master Cotton answers,

First, Did not *Christ* preach to all these sorts of *bearers* in the *church* of the *Jews*?

Truth. That *national church* of the *Iews*, in its first *visible constitution*, consisted onely of good ground. Now that the other three sorts of *bearers* were in the *church* of the *Iews*, it was an *accident* and *corruption*: when they grew incurable, and received not the *admonitions* of the Lord, by the Lord Iesus and his *servants*, preaching unto them, the Lord cast them out of his sight, destroyed that *nationall church*, and *established* the *Christian church*.

Now what is this to the permitting of known *hypocrites* in the *Christian church* to the worlds end? since that the proper seat of *known hypocrisie*, and of all other *wickednesses*, is the *world*, which indeed properly consisteth of the three sorts of *Bad ground*, as the *church* and *Garden* of *Christ*, of the *best* and *good ground*.

Peace. But further, If (saith Master Cotton) the children of the *church*-members be in the *church*,

then they growing up to yeers, become some of them like the *high-way*, and some like the *stony*, and some like the *thorny* ground.

Truth. Admit the *Christian church* were constituted of the *natural seed* and *off-spring* (which yet Master *Cotton* knows will never be granted to him, and I believe will never be proved by him :)¹ yet he knows, that upon the *discovery* of any such portion of *ground* in the *church*, the *church* is bound to admonish, and [58] upon *impenitency* (after *admonition*) to cast them into the *world*, the proper place of such kind of hearers and professors.

Peace. Master *Cotton* proceeds to a third answer, to wit, Though it be not the proper work of the *church* to bring up their own children to become the sincere people of *God*, And *Christ* hath given his Church and his *Gospel* preached to it, to lye like *leaven* in three pecks of meal, till all be leavened, *Mat.* 13. 31. And he hath given *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as well for the gathering of the *Saints*, as for the *edification* of the *Body* of *Christ*. [*Eph.* 4: 11, 12.]

Truth. I answer, the proper work of the *Pastors* and *Teachers*, is to feed the *sheep* and *flock*, and not the *Heards*, the *wild Beasts* in the world. And

¹ This was Cotton's doctrine, inconsistent as it seems with his idea of the spiritual constitution of the Church, although consistent with his views of Infant baptism. He says: "I have not yet learned, (nor doe I thinke, I ever shall) that the children of believing Parents borne in the Church, are all of them Pagans, and no Members of the Church: or that being Members of the

Church, (and so holy) that they are all of them truly converted." *Bloody Tenent Wasted*, 78. "Such as are born of Christian parents, and baptized in their infancy into the fellowship of the Church, are initiated members of the same Church, though destitute of spiritual grace, untill they justly deprive themselves of the priviledge of that Fellowship." *Holineffe of Church-members*, 1.

although it is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the nurture and *fear* of the Lord; yet what if those children refuse to frequent the *Assemblies* of the Church, and what if those three sorts of *bad ground* or hearers will not come within the *bounds* of the *Pastors* and *Teachers* feeding; hath not the Lord *Iesus* appointed other Officers (in the same *Ephef.* 4. [11. 12.]) for the gathering of the *Saints*, that is, sending out of the Church of *Christ*, *Apostles*, or Messengers, to preach *Christ Iesus* to the three sorts of *bad ground*, to labour to turn them into *good ground*?

But alas, to save up all this, the *civil* sword is commonly run for, to force all *sorts* of ground to come to church, instead of the sending forth (*Rom.* 10. [15.]) the *heavenly sowers*, according to the Ordinance of *Christ Iesus*.

Peace. But what say you to his fourth answer, viz. There is no such *Resemblance* between the *high-way-ground* and *good ground*, as between the *Tares* and the *wheate*, nor would the servants wonder at *Tares* in the *high-way*, nor ask about their plucking up.

Truth. I answer, Let the *high-way*, *stony*, and *thorny* ground be considered in their several *qualities* of *prophaneness*, *stoniness*, and *worldliness*, and all the *sons of men* throughout the whole *world* naturally are such; and tis no wonder, nor would the *servants* of *Christ* be so troubled, as to desire their plucking up out of the *world*. But yet againe consider all these sorts of men as professing the *name* and *anointing* of *Christ Iesus* in a false and [59] counterfeit *Antichristian* way, and then it may well be wondred,

*Antichristians mon-
sters in
religion.*

whence such monstrous kind of *Christians* or *anointed ones* arose: And *Gods* people may easily be tempted rather to desire their rooting out of the *world*, then the rooting out of any such sorts of ground or men professing any other *Religion*, *Jewish*, *Mahometan* or *Pagan*, *Antichristian* and false *Christians* being more opposite to the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, and more dangerous, by how much more a *counterfeit* and *Traytor* is worse then a professed *Fox*, an *Antichristian* (whether *Papist* or *Protestant*) worse then a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, Whether *Indian*, *Turke* or *Persian*.

Examination of CHAP. XXIII.

Peace.

Still of the Tares.

THese *tares* (saith Master *Cotton*) are not such sinners as are opposite and contrary, for then none should be opposite or contrary but they.

Truth. I acknowledge (as Master *Cotton* here observeth) two sorts of persons *opposite* and contrary to *Christ Jesus* and his *Kingdome*.

*Two sorts
of sinners.*

First, All sorts of *sinners scandalous* in their *lives* and *courses*.

2. More especially opposite in point of *Religion* and *worship*, as all idolaters, and especially *Antichristians*.

Now every man by nature, the best and wisest, is opposite and contrary to *Christ*, his *word* and *kingdome*; but an *idolater* and *Antichristian* is more espe-

cially opposite to his glorious *Name*, *Truth*, and *Ordinances*.

And therein properly lyes the *mystery* of *iniquity*, brought in by the *man* of *sin*, that *lawless person*, 2 *Thess.* 2. most opposite or contrary to *Christ Jesus* the *Son of God*, and *Son of Righteousness*.

Peace. But this is a begging of the *question* (saith Master Cotton) for the *question* is about *visible* worshippers, such as were discovered and declared to be what they were, as well by their *fruit* [60] as by their *clads*, and therefore againe (saith Master Cotton) these *tares* were the *seed* and children of the *Devil*; for why should they be called the *seed* of the *One*, and the children of the *Other*?

Truth. I answer, the *Lord Jesus* distinguisheth, thus, He that soweth the *good seed*, is the *Son of man*; and the *good seed* are the children of the *Kingdome*: he that soweth the *tares* is the *devil*, and these *tares* are the children of the *evil* or *evil one*; Hence by way of *opposition*, these children of *evil* or *evil ones* being visibly such as are *opposite* to the children of the *kingdome*, they cannot be *hypocrites* in the *church*, untill they are discovered: These children therefore of the *evil one* opposite to the *visible kingdome*, and so to *visible Christ Jesus* in point of his *kingdome*, *church*, and *worship* (though they be the *children* of the *devil* in a fence, yet) can they be no other, but the children of the false *Christ* or *Antichrist*, in the way of a false *church* and *worship*.

Peace. Yea, but lastly (saith Master Cotton) that word τῇ πονηρίᾳ translated the children of the *wicked one* or *wickedness*, will agree to *hypocrites*.

Two sorts
of hypo-
crites.

Truth. It will indeed, if we respect their *inside*, which is only *visible* to the *invisible* King, as *Judas* in his profession: but it cannot agree to such *hypocrites* as are undiscovered by their *fruits* in the *church*, but unto such *hypocrites* as are discovered in their *blades* and *fruit*, and so consequently are not fit to live with other sinners in the *world*: I doubt not but Master *Cotton* will say, That although a member of a Church prove a *theife*, *adulterer*, *murtherer*, in the eyes of a Brother, that sees and knows his secret *wickedness*, yet that brother is censurable as a slanderer, if he should report these *evils*, though to the Church, untill according to *visible order* he could produce good proof and *evidence*.

61]

Examination of CHAP. XXIV.*Peace.*

Still of the Tares.

MAfter *Cotton* here seems to me (with the *Familists*¹) to confound *heaven and earth* together, the matters of *Worship*, and *Ordinances of Religion*,

¹ The Familists were a sect of German origin, bred in the ferments of the Reformation, said to have been founded by Henry Nicholas, of Münster, though his tenents are traced back to David Joris, or George, who died in 1556. Nicholas came to England near the close of the reign of Edward VI., and gathered a society called "The Family of Love." They held that the essence of religion was in a deep and all-absorbing feeling of

divine love, and that all doctrines and forms were of no consequence compared with this. That this mystical doctrine should lead to their confounding the distinctions named in the text is not unnatural.

To charge Cotton with any tendency to Familism would be a very sharp thrust. It was one of the errors which at that time in Massachusetts were regarded with peculiar dread and disgust. It was one of the charges against Mrs. Hutchinson,

with the affaires and *businesses* of this *life*: for faith he, such as stand for the *kingdome* of *Satan* (as all evil men do) they stand in *opposition* to the *Kingdome* of *Christ*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* is not now to be taught the distinction between the *church* and *Commonweale*; nor that a *national church* is not of *Christ Jesus* his *institution*: yet as this discourse strongly inclines to erect a *national church*, so doth this present answer to the *confusion* both of *Church* and *Commonweale*.

It is true, a *covetous Jew*, that blasphemeth *Christ Jesus*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*. But by his *covetousness* in one kinde, as *covetousness* is opposite to *Righteousness* and *contentation*, &c. and for *Sathan* against *Christ* in another fence, that is in a *Religious* and *Spiritual* fence, as he prefers *Moses* before *Christ Jesus*.
Two sorts of opposites to Christ Jesus.
Jesus, and denies the true *Messiah* to be yet come in the *flesh*.

A cruel *Turk* stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, by his *cruelty* in one fence, to wit, in *opposition* to *Christs* *mercy*, *gentleness*, *patience*, &c. but by his *belief* in *Mahomet*, preferring him before *Christ*, he opposeth him in his *Kingdome* and *Worship*.

To come neerer, a *drunken English, Dutch* or *Frenchman*, stands for *Satan* against *Christ*, as their *drunkenness* is opposite to *Christs* *sobriety*, *temperance*, &c. but against *Christ* in another fence, as they profess the wayes of *Antichristian idolatry* and *supersti-*

and *Cotton* from the first was implicated with her, and "her adherents were wont to say, that they held only what Mr. *Cotton* held." *Ellis, Life of Anne Hutchinson*, 211. "The name of the

no less great *John Cotton* was abused by these busy sectaries, for the patronage of their whimsies." *Mather, Magnalia*, ii. 440.

tion: And not to observe this *distinction*, is (with some *Familists*) to run upon *quick-sands* of *confounding* the *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, his *worship* and *ordinances*, with the *kingdomes* of this *world*, and the *common affaires* thereof in *natural* and *civil* consideration.

Peace. But though *Christ* (saith Master *Cotton*) should com-[62]mand other *offenders* to be let alone beside *Antichristians*, yet he should not contradict any *ordinances* for the punishment of *offenders* &c. because, saith he, No law of *God*, nor *just law* of *man* commands the the rooting out of *hypocrites*, though the *church* be bound to endeavour (as much as in them lies) to heale their *hypocrisie*.

Truth. *Hypocrisie* discovered in the *fruit* of it, is not to be let alone in the *church* or *State*: For neither *church* of *Christ* nor *civil state* can long continue safe, if *hypocrites* or *traitors* (under what pretence soever) be permitted to break forth in them, without due punishment and rooting out; this *hypocrisie* being especially that great sin against which *Christ Iesus* so frequently and so vehemently inveighed, and against which he denounced the forest of *plagues* and *judgements*.

Truth. By whose *command*, and by what *meanes* and *ordinances*, by whose *power* and *authority*, but by the *command*, *meanes* and *power* of *Christ Iesus*?

And I further aske, If faithful *admonition* be not one good means of *healing*, and if that lye not in the *churches power*; and if the *hypocrite* after faithful *admonition* once or twice, submit not to the *voice* of *Christ Iesus*, I ask where the Lord *Iesus* command-

eth to make a stop, and not to cast forth and reject whomsoever wilfully obstinate?

Peace. Doubtless (dear Truth) many will be apt to say Master Cotton intends *secret* and close *hypocrisie*.

Truth. And I doubt not but *himself* will say, That this is not our *question*, but of known and unmasked *hypocrisie*, as *himself* hath formerly declared, and such as here he expresseth come under *ordinances* of healing.

Peace. But further (saith Master Cotton) it is not true, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone untill the end of the *world*, Why? Because *Christ* commanded *excommunication*, &c.

Truth. I am astonisht, and wonder why Master Cotton here speaketh of *excommunication*, a *spiritual ordinance* of *Christ Iesus* in his *spiritual kingdome* or *city*, when the *dispute* onely concerns temporal *excommunication* or cutting off? Let them alone, that is, in *civil State*?

I wonder also how he should imagine the *discusser* in this Chap-[63]ter to affirme, that *Antichristians* are to be let alone in the *church* unto the end of the world, when it was the very scope of his argument in this Chapter, to prove, that the *speech* of *Christ Iesus*, [let them alone] must needs be understood of letting *idolaters* and *Antichristians* alone in the *civil state*, and in the *world*, because otherwise, if he had meant, [Let them alone in the *church*] he should contradict himself, who hath appointed meanes for the disturbing and purging out the corrupt *leaven* both of *persons* and *practices* out of his *church* and *kingdome*.

Peace. The same answer indeed will easily be

returned to his last *supposition* of any *Popish spirit* conspiring against the *life* of King and Parliament: The whole scope of this book professeth, and in this Chapter the discusser professedly argueth, that *Christ Jesus* hath appointed that *civil offenders* against the *civil state*, ought not to be let alone.

But Master Cotton adds, If *Popish Priests* and *Jesuits* be rightly expounded to be the *Rivers* and "fountaines of water, which drive the dead sea of "Antichristian pollutions up and down all Nations "in Europe, and in some cases are to drink blood; "Then are they not to be let alone, but duely sup- "prest and cut off from conveying up and down "idolatrous, heretical and seditious wickedness, *Rev.* "16. 4, 7.

*The rivers
and foun-
taines of
blood,
Rev. 16.*

Truth. The exposition of this *Scripture* will be further examined in the *sequel*, and found no true exposition, That *Rivers* and *fountaines* of *water* drive the *sea* up and down: For *rivers* and *fountaines* however they come from the *salt-water*, yet lose they the *savour* of the *salt-sea*, and yeeld a *savour* of the earth through which they make their passages; and again they run into the *sea*, and are themselves driven up and down, and swallowed up in the *sea*: Nor will it be found a true exposition according to *Godliness* and *Christianity*, which commandeth *patience* and *waiting*, not *fire* and *sword* to *gainesayers* and *opposites*: Nor lastly, will it be found a true exposition agreeing with Master Cottons own profession in some passage of this book, wherein he holds forth great *toleration* and *gentleness* to other *consciences*, both *English* and *Barbarians*.

64] Examination of CHAP. XXV.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton affirms, that *hypocrites* (even) they that are discerned to be such, yet they are not to be purged out, except they break forth into such notorious fruits of *hypocrisie* as tend to the *leavening* of the *whole lumpe*: for otherwise (saith he) we may roote out the best *wheate* in *Gods field*, &c.

Truth. I answer, since *hypocrites* and all *hypocrisie* is so odious in *Gods sight*, and so vehemently inveighed against by *Christ Jesus*, what should be the cause why the *leaven* of the *Pharisees*, which is *hypocrisie*, should finde greater *favour* and *connivance* in the church of *Christ*, then the *leaven* of any other *sin*, since all ought to be purged out? 1 Cor. 5. [7.]

2. Contrary to what Master Cotton saith, [to wit, That no man meerly for *hypocrisie* and want of life and power of Godliness ought to be proceeded against] the *Spirit of God* by *Paul* saith, That such kind of professors of the name of *Christ* should arise, that should pretend a form of *godliness*, but not shew forth the *power* thereof, from which he commandeth us to turn away, 1 [2] Tim. 3. [5.]

Peace. But Master Cotton excepteth, Except (saith he) they break forth into some notorious scandalous fruits of *hypocrisie*.

Truth. How shall an *hypocrite* be discovered and known to be an *hypocrite* or *traitor* in church or civil state, but by some such notorious scandalous fruits as tend to the *leavening* of the whole *lumpe*? Come to

particulars; was *Iudas, Ananias* and *Sapphira, Simon Magus, Demas*, or any other discovered to be *Hypocrites*, when they broke forth into *treachery, lying, covetousness*? and might the *church* proceed against such? If it be denied, I ask to what end the *Lord* hath given those holy rules of *admonition*? &c. will it prove ought but prophaning of the name of the *Lord*, to pretend our clear discerning of the *Scripture* and *ordinances*, and not to practise them? If it be yeilded against these *fruits* of *hypocrisie*, discovering *men* to be *hypocrites*, why do we plead for a *dispensation*, and (not for the *wheat* of the *Field*, 65] and *flowers* of the *garden*, but) for the most stinking and loathsome *tares* and *weeds* to be continued in the holy garden of *Christ Jesus*?

Peace. But many *hypocrites* (saith Master Cotton) fall not within the cenſure of that *Scripture*, 2 *Theſſ.* 3. 6. Withdraw from every *brother* that walketh disorderly; for many *hypocrites* follow their *callings*, and are ſo far from being burthenſome unto others, that they are after choaked with the *cares* and *busi- neſſes* of the *world*, and yet are not behind in *liberal contribution* to pious uſes.

Truth. But is not this *balting* between *God* and *Baal*? yea is not this pleading for *Baal*, for *hypocrisie*, *hypocrites* and *dissemblers*, false and *Antichristian counterfeits*, to be permitted not onely in the *wilderneſſes* of the *world* (which I contend for) but alſo even in the *Garden, Houſe, Bed*, and *boſome* of *God*? What if men be *civil* and follow their callings? Men that know not *God*, ſo do. What though they be *liberal* to pious uſes (millions of *Papiſts* are and have been

so according to their *consciences*) when as yet they are *choaked* with *cares* and *businesse*s of this world?

How expresse is the *charge* of the Lord *Jefus*, to *with-draw* from such, notwithstanding their *forme* of *Godlinefs*, and *contribution* to *Godly* uses, when they declare not the *power* of *godlinefs*, 1 [2] *Tim.* 3. 2. [5.] Not to *eate* with them, and therefore to separate from such a *brother* as is *covetous*, 1 *Cor.* 5. [11.] as well as from an *idolater*, *drunkard*, &c.

The *Church* of *Chrift* is a *congregation* of *Saints*, a *flock* of *sheep*, humble, meek, patient, contented, with whom it is *monstrous* and impossible, to couple cruel and persecuting *lyons*, subtle and hypocritical *Foxes*, contentious biting *dogs* or greedy and rooting *swine*, so visibly declared and apparant.

Examination of CHAP. XXI. [XXVI.]

Peace.

IN this Chapter four answers were given by the discusser to that great objection of the *mischief* that the *Tares* will do in the field of the *world*, if let alone and not pluckt up.

66] The first was, That if the *tares* offend against *Civility* or *civil state*, *God* hath armed the *civil state* with a *civil sword*, &c.

Master *Cotton* replies, what if their *conscience* incite them to *civil offences*?

I answer, the *conscience* of the *civil Magistrate* must incite him to *civil punishment*, as a Lord Maior of *London* once answered, That he was born to be a

Corrupt
consciences
distinguisht.
ed.

Judge, to a Thief that pleaded he was born to be a thief. If the *conscience* of the *worshippers* of the *Beast* incite them to prejudice *prince* or *state*, Although these *consciences* be not as the *conscience* of a *thief* (commonly convinced of the *evil* of his *fact*, but) perswaded of the *lawfulness* of their *actions*; yet so far as the *civil state* is endammaged or endangered, I say the *sword* of *God* in the hand of *civil Authority* is strong enough to defend it self, either by imprisoning or *disarming*, or other wholesome *meanes*, &c. while yet their *consciences* ought to be permitted in what is meerly point of *worship*, as *prayer*, and other *services* and *administrations*.

Hence the wisdom of *God*, in that 13 *Rom.* (reckoned by Master *Cotton* the *Magna Charta* for *civil Magistrates* dealing in matters of *Religion*) I say, there it pleaseth *God* expressly to reckon up the particulars of the *second table*, chalking out (as it were) by his own finger, the *civil sphear* or *circle*, in which the *civil Magistrate* ought to act and execute his *civil power* and *Authority*.

Peace. The second answer of the *discusser* was, that the *church* or *spiritual City* hath *laws* and *Armories* to defend it self.

Master *Cotton* excepteth, saying, That if their *members* be leavened with *Antichristian Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and yet must be tolerated in their *idolatry*, and *superstitious worship*, will not a litle *leaven* leaven the whole *lumpe*? and how then is the *church* guarded?

Tolleration
of idolaters
considered.

Truth. The question is, whether *idolatrous* and *Antichristian worshippers* may be tolerated in *civil*

state, in the City, in the Kingdome, &c. under any civil power: Master Cotton answers no, they will do mischief. The reply is, against any civil mis-[67]chief (though wrought conscientiously) the civil state is strongly guarded. Secondly, Against the spiritual mischief, the church or City of Christ is guarded with heavenly Armouries, wherein there hang a thousand Bucklers, Cant. 4.[4] and most mighty weapons, 2 Cor. 10.[4.] In the church of Christ such worshippers ought not to be tolerated, but cast out, &c.

That is true, saith Master Cotton, but yet their leaven will spread.

I answer, What is this, but to make the most powerful appointments of Christ Jesus, those mighty ^{Civil weapons} weapons of God, terrible censures and foul-punishments in his kingdome, but as so many wooden daggers ^{in spirit-}uals, blur and leaden swords, childrens Bull-beggars, and scar-crows, and upon the point so base and beggarly, that ^{and slight the spirit-}without the help of the Cutlers shop or Smiths forge, the church or kingdome of Christ cannot be purged from the leaven of idolatry and superstition?

Peace. Me thinks the Lord Jesus was of another mind, Mat. 18.[17.] when he accounted it sufficient to cut off the obstinate, Let him be as a Gentile or publican: and in the very similitude of leaven (here used by Master Cotton) Paul counted it sufficient to purge out the leaven, 1 Cor. 5.[7.] if that evil person were put away from the midst of them, that is, from their holy and spiritual society. Paul never asks (as Master Cotton doth) since we have not to our spiritual armes, armes of flesh, and a civil sword to help our spiritual, how shall the safety of the church be guarded?

But let's proceed. The third Answer was, That the *elect* cannot be finally deceived: Master Cotton replies, It is true, but *God* provides meanes of *preservation*, &c. And *Jezabels* tolerating in *Thiatira* made the *church* guilty.

Truth. This Argument was not used in derogation of *Gods* meanes, *spiritual* in *spiritual* things, *civil* in *civil*, &c. but by way of *supposition* of the worst, as *Job* spake in another case, How helpest thou the *Arme* that hath no strength? Not but that in ordinary submission to *meanes*, man ought to help the *Lord* against the mighty. The sum is this, rather let the *Lord* alone to help himself without *meanes*, then to help the *Lord* to save his *elect* (who cannot by vertue of his *love* and *decree* finally be deceived) by any such *meanes* as are none of his own appointing. 68] 2. It is true, that the *church* at *Thyatira*, tolerating *Jezabel* to seduce, was guilty, yea and I add the *City* of *Thyatira* was guilty also if it tolerated *Iezabel* to seduce to *fornication*. But what is this to the point of the *issue* [to wit, Whether the *City* of *Thyatira* should be guilty or not in tolerating *Iezabel* in that which the *City* judgeth to be *idolatry* and *false worship*?] *Jezabels* corporal *whoredoms* (finning against *civility* or *state* of the *City*) the *City* by her Officers ought to punish, lest *civil* order be broken, and *civility* be infected &c. but *Iezabels* *spiritual* *whoredomes*, the *civil* *state* ought not to deal with but (there being a *church* of *Christ* then in *Thiatira*, and the *spiritual* *whoredomes* there taught and practised) I say the *church* in *Thyatira*, which in the name and power of *Christ* was armed sufficiently to pass and

*The toller-
ation of
Jezabel in
Thyatira.*

inflict a dreadful *spiritual censure*, which God will confirme and ratifie most assuredly and undoubtedly in *heaven*.

Peace Two reasons more were alleadged out of the Text. The first was, that by plucking up the *tares*, the good *wheate* it self by such *hurries* and *persecutions* about *Religion*, should be indangered to be plucked up: which Master Cotton saveth thus: to wit, If Gods people themselves, for their *idolatry* and *superstition*, should be cut off, it will be for warning unto others, &c.

Truth. Oh *ungodly, unchristian*, that is *bloody* and *Antichristian doctrin*, by which (under pretence of punishing *hereticks*, *schismatics*, and *sedition* persons) *Christ* the Son of God, the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, *Jesus under persecution persecuted*, hath so many millions of times, in his *servants* been *persecuted, slaine, and crucified*! As for the world, it lies in *wickedness*, is a *wildernefs* of *sin* over-grown with *idolatry* and *superstition*. The *Antichristian* (falsly called *Christian world*) in most abundant and over-flowing measure hath wondred after and magnified the *Beast*, Rev. 13. The two *witnesses prophecie* in sackcloth against this *beast*, in all *parts* of his *dominion*, by whom also they are persecuted and slaine, and yet we read not that they *judge* or *censure*, or fight for themselves with any other *weapons* then by *The weapons of the Saints*, the *word* of their *prophecie*, the *blood* of the *Lamb*, Rev. 12. their patient *sufferings*, the not loving of their lives unto the *death*.

Peace. The second reason out of the *parable* was, That the [69] *Angels of God* have in charge to bundle up these *tares* for the *burning*. Master Cotton

replies two things. First, so these *Angels* will gather into bundles for the burning *murderers, robbers, &c.* who are not yet to be tolerated.

Truth. I answer, If a man call Master Cotton *murderer, witch, &c.* with respect to *civil matters*, I say the *civil state* must judge and punish the *offender*, else the *civil state* cannot stand, but must return to *barbarisme*. But if a man call Master Cotton *murderer, witch &c.* in *spiritual matters*, as *deceiving and bewitching* the peoples *souls*, if he can prove his *charge*, Master Cotton ought to give God the *glory*, and repent of such *wickedness*. If he cannot prove his *charge*, but slander Master Cotton, yet is the slander of no *civil nature*, and so not proper to any *civil court*, but is to be cast out (as we see commonly *suits of law* are rejected, when brought into *Courts* which take no proper *cognizance* of such cases.)

The difference between civil and spiritual slander

Peace. What relief then hath Master Cotton or any so charged in this case?

Truth. The *court of heaven*, the *church of Christ*, calls such a *slanderer* to *repentance* (whether he be within the *church* or without, though orderly proceeding lies only against him that is within) If he be *obstinate*, how dreadful is the *sentence* against such a *slanderer*, both in *earth* and in *heaven*? how dreadful the delivering up to *hardness of heart* (a greater plague on *Pharaoh*, then all the devouring *plagues of Egypt*) how dreadful the delivering up to *Satan*, the *paw and jaw* of the roaring *Lyon* (infinitely far more terrible, had we eyes to see it, then to be thrown with *Daniel* to the devouring *Lyon*;) There is no reason in the world therefore, for *theeves* and *mur-*

The dreadful nature of Christs spiritual punishments.

therers to be tolerated unto the last day without *sentence* and *punishment*, because *transgressors* against *spiritual state* may be tolerated to live in the world, yet punished for *spiritual transgression* with a greater *censure* and forer punishment, then if all their bones and flesh were rackt and torn in pieces with burning pincers.

Peace. Master Cotton and others will say, The idolaters and seducers were censured *spiritually* under Moses, and yet were they also put to death.

70] *Truth.* I desire Master Cotton to shew me under Moses, such *spiritual censures* and *punishments* beside the cutting off by the *civil sword*: which if he cannot do, and that since the *Christian Church* antitypes the *Israelitish*, and the *Christian laws* and *punishments* the laws and *punishments* of Israel concerning religion, I may truly affirme, that that civil state which may not justly tolerate civil offenders, &c. yet may most justly tolerate *spiritual offenders*, of whose *Delinquency* it hath no proper cognizance.

Peace. Lastly, Master Cotton urgeth, that *παρουσία* (2 *Thess.* 2. [8]) should rather be translated *presence* then *coming*.

Truth. Admit it (though many able translators in divers languages rather translate it *coming*) and that *Antichrist* shall not be consumed by the *breath* of the mouth of the Lord Jesus before his last coming to judgement; yet then Master Cotton must give another interpretation of this *end* of the world, and the *Angels*, and the *fire*, then is usually given: however the *tares* shall be bundled up for the *everlasting burnings*, and are at present under a dreadful *sentence* and *punish-*

ment, and therefore (not offending in *civil* things) the *civil* state may the better tolerate them in matters of *religion* and *conscience*; and *Paul* himself (if opposed by them) might the better wait with patience, if God peradventure will give them *repentance*, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXVII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter, those three particulars by which the *Ministers* of *Christ* are commanded to let the Tares alone, Master *Cotton* evades by calling them so many *slippery evasions* &c.

Truth. I believe neither the *interpretations* nor the *intentions* of the *Author* were evasive: for a faithful *witnes*s will not lye though a false *witnes*s will utter *deceit*; however the *fire* shall try. The truth is, the greater part, and especially the former of Master *Cottons* answer in this Chapter, comes not neer the point of the *issue*, for that is not whether the *Saints* may pray or prophecy against *idolaters* and false *worshippers*, but whether or no for [71] their present temporal *destruction* and *extirpation*.

Prayer
against
present de-
struction of
tares.

Peace. Unto this Master *Cotton* saith, Yes, for the present *destruction* of some or other *Antichristian idolaters* in every age: and he adds, it might as well be said, that a *Minister* of *Christ* should not denounce present or speedy *destruction* to any *murderers*, *whoremongers*, &c. because though some of them may fall under grievous plagues, yet there will never want a

company of such *evil doers*, untill the great *harvest* or end of the *world*.

Againe, saith he, Though a *Minister* denounce not present *destruction*, yet he cannot let them alone, no more then the *feller* of an *Oake*, that gives many a *stroake* before the last, &c.

2. It is not credible (saith he) that some of the *Angels* that poure out their *vials* upon the *Anticbristian state*, shall not be *Ministers*: And, when the ten *horns* shall burn the *City* of *Rome*, it is not credible, that they will do it without some excitement from the *Angels*.

Truth. The instance brought of *murtherers*, *whoremongers* &c. is most improper, because we all agree that present *corporal* or *civil punishment* is due to *murtherers*, *whoremongers*, &c. and other like *transgressors* against the *civil state* of all *Nations* and *peoples* all the *world* over, and this in all *Ages* and *Times*: but Master *Cotton* himself acknowledgeth, that many *prophecies* and *periods* are set for the *continuance* of the *Anticbristian state*, and the *idolatry* and *desolations* thereof, and that those *periods* shall be accomplished before the *judgement* day: nor will it appear that those ten *Kings* that shall in the fulfilling of this *prophecy* burn the *whore*, shall do it by way of *ordinance* and *obedience* to *Gods* command, otherwise then he permitted *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyrus*, and other *Tyrants* of the *world* (as the *fishes* of the *sea* one to devoure and swallow up another.) And for that instance of the *wood-man* felling of the *Oake*, I grant that the *prayers* of the *Saints* hasten the *whores* *down-fal*, and the opening of these *prophecies* make way

for Gods time ; but what is this to a *present downfal* before the time appointed ?

*Pastors and
Teachers
not Apostles
and mes-
sengers.*

Againe, That it is not credible but that some of the *Angels* should be *messengers* of the *Gospel*, I answer, Master *Cotton* knows that the *English* word *messengers*, and the *Greek* word *Apostles*, are the same ; but no such *messengers* Master *Cotton* al-[72]lows of : And that the word *messengers* in the *Apostles* sence should imply *Pastors* and *Teachers* (which Master *Cotton* now only allows of) I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. That those *Angels* should be the *wit-nesses*, and the *Prophets* in *sackcloth*, seemes more credible.

And I may well affirme the contrary to Master *Cottons* credible, that it is *incredible* that any *servant* or *messenger* of the *King of Peace* should stir up the *civil Magistrate* to cut off those by the *civil sword*, whose *repentance* he is bound to wait for with *patience*, bearing in the interim their *oppositions* and *gainsayings*, 2 *Tim.* 2. [24. 25.]

Peace. Tis most true, according to the *testimony* of *Christ Jesus* (and most contrary to the *tenents* and *practice* of the *Romish* bloody *Popes* and their *followers*) that *Christs Ministers* are *wisdomes Maidens* (*Prov.* 9.[3.]) sent forth in heavenly *Beauty* and *chastity*, with meek and loving, yet vehement *perswasions*, to call in the foolish of the *world* to partake of *wisdomes dainties* : but (dear truth) deliver your minde concerning the last passage, to wit, *Elijahs act* in stirring up *Abab* to kill all the *Priests* and *prophets* of *Baal* : This *act* (saith Master *Cotton*) was not *figurative*, but *moral* ; for (saith he) *Abab* could not be a *figure* of

*Elijab
stirring up
Abab to
slay the
Baalites.*

Christ, nor *Israel* after their *Apostacie*, a type of the true *Church*: Beside, *blasphemers* ought to die by the law; and *Ahab* forfeited his own life, because he did not put *Benbadad* to death for his *blasphemy*, 1 Kings 20. [42.]

Truth. *Christ Jesus* is considered two wayes, *Christ* in his person, and *Christ mystical* in his church, represented by the *Governors* thereof. Some say that *Israel* was not in *Ahabs* time excommunicated and cut off from Gods fight, untill their final carrying out of the land of *Canaan*, 2 Kings 17. [6.] and that *Israel* remained (though none of Gods in respect of her apostacy, yet) Gods in respect of covenant, untill the execution of the sentence of excommunication or divorce: And therefore that *Ahab*, as King of *Israel*, Gods people (untill *Israel* ceased to be *Israel*) was a figure of *Christ*, that is, *Christ* in his presence, in his governors, in his church, though fallen to idolatry under admonition, not yet cast off.

But (2.) grant the church false, and *Ahab* King of a false [73] church, how will it appear that *Elijahs* Act was a moral act, and so presidential to all Kings and Nations?

Peace. Because (saith Master Cotton) it is moral equity, that blasphemers, and apostate idolaters, seducing others to idolatry, should be put to death, Levit. 24. 16. Deut. 13. 5.

Truth. Those Scriptures concern a ceremonial land in a ceremonial time, before *Christ*; and in the same Lev. 24. the command is equally given for the lampe in the *Tabernacle*, and the shew-bread as well as for the idolater.

Peace. But *Benbadad* (saith Master *Cotton*) was no *Israelite*, nor was his *blasphemy* belched out in the land of *Israel*.

Truth. It is most true, that *blasphemers* in *Israel*, and *blasphemers* against *Israel* and the *God* of it, were put to death. It is also true in the *antitype* and *substance* since the coming of *Christ*, that *blasphemers* in *Israel*, and *blasphemers* against *Israel* (the church of *God*) are *spiritually* to be put to death by the two-edged sword coming forth of the mouth of *Christ*, *Rev.* 1. [16] and this *Gospel*-punishment is much more dreadful and terrible, then the punishment of the first *blasphemers* under *Moses* or the *prophets*.

* Hence
Baalls
Priests,
Monks,
Friars,
and Bishops
have not
been civilly
actually
slaine in
England,
&c. but
spiritually
by Gods
sword, the
sword of
his spirit
cashed
and cut off
eternally.

Peace. Methinks also, if *Ahab* were now *presidential*, and that which he should have done to *Benbadad* *presidential*, then is there now no *spiritual* or *mystical Israel*, no *spiritual Canaan*, but the *letter*, *ceremony*, and *figure* yet in force, and *Christ Jesus* the *mystical* and *spiritual King* of *Israel* is not yet come in the flesh.

Truth. Yea then not onely a few in a *City* or *Kingdome* (suppose *hundreths* or *thousands*) but *millions* of *millions* of *blasphemers*, *idolaters*, *seducers*, throughout the whole wide world, ought corporally to be put to death.

Peace. Against this methinks Master *Cotton* should be and I am sure against this *Christ Iesus* was, who professed in answer to the rash zeal of his *disciples* (*Luk.* 9.[56.]) That he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: but how relish you Master *Cottons* interpretation, of Let them alone (which he sees please some so well) to wit, Let them alone is no *precept*, but *permission*?

74] *Truth.* I answer, If let them alone were onely by *permission* in way of *providence*, Why is also a word of *prohibition* added, to wit, That such should not be medled with, for these and these *reasons*, whereas although *God* permitteth *evil doers* in *spiritual* and *civil state* in the *world*, yet there lies a word of *ordinance* to purge them out. Here is no *ordinance* for their plucking up, but for their letting alone, and that in a merciful respect of sparing the *good wheate*, who might be indangered to be pluckt up by the *roots* out of the *world*, by such rash and furious *zeale* of *plucking up the tares*.

Examination of CHAP. XXIX.

Peace.

MAfter *Cotton* referring the 28 Chapter to former *agitations*, seems to invite us to pass on to Chapter 29.

Truth. Let the 28 Chapter recapitulating the former, and the whole *controversies*, be referred to the *consciencs* of such to whom these passages by any *providence* of the most holy wise shall be presented, and let it graciously please the *Father* of *lights*, to help all his sons of *light*, to be truly studious of his *truth* in the *love* of it, to cast up all particulars aright in his fear, by the onely *Arithmetick* of his own most holy and unerring *spirit*.

Peace. In this Chapter first ariseth a *question* concerning the *Apostles* *privacy*.

Truth. Master Cotton acknowledgeth them to be called to a *publike Ministry*, let others judge then of their *privacy*.

Touching
Christs
Apostles or
messengers. *Peace.* But they were not sent (saith Master Cotton) to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and so consequently were to let them alone.

Truth. I answer, Let it be considered, how he that grants *men* are sent to the *sheep*, can rightly say they have nothing to do with the *Wolves* and *Foxes*.

Peace. In this controverſie, Master Cotton elsewhere, will not onely have *sheep* fed, but the *Wolves* driven from the *fold*, their *braines* beaten out, &c. and that not onely by the *Pastors* or *sheapherds* *spiritually*, but also by the *civil Magistrate*, and [75] to that end, he is to be stirred up by the *Shepherds* and *Ministers* of *Christ*.

Truth. Such exciting and stirring up of the *civil Magistrate* if it were *Christs* will, how can the *Apostles* be excused, or the *Lord Jesus* himself, for not stirring up the *Civil Magistrate* to his duty against these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, the *Wolves* and *Foxes*, as Master Cotton here cals them?

Touching
fundamen-
tals. *Peace.* Neither the *doctrine*, nor their offence at it (saith Master Cotton) was *fundamental*; nor had the *civil Magistrate* a *law* established about *doctrine* or *offences* of this *nature*. Besides, *Christ* gave his *disciples* a charge to be wise as *Serpents*, and himself would not meddle with the *Pharisees*, untill the last yeer of his *Ministry*, lest their *exasperation* might have been some hinderance to his *Ministry* before his hour was come.

Truth. I should desire Master Cotton againe to ponder whether the notorious *hypocrisie* of the *Phari-*

sees (now brought into a *Proverb*) and also whether the notorious transgressing (and upon the point abolishing) of the fifth *commandment*, and so consequently of all *civil* obedience (with the *Papists*) under pretence of *Gods* service (although indeed but their own *superstition*) be not of a *fundamental* guilt, both against *spiritual* and *civil* state.

Peace. I remember Master *Cotton* argued against *tolleration* of the *Papists*, because their *conscience* excites them against the *civil* powers.

Truth. And whither tended these principles of the *Pharisees*, but to overthrow all *Family*, yea and (if they be followed home) all *Towne*, or *City*, and *Kingdome*-Government?

Peace. Yea, But the *Romane Magistrate* (saith he) had no established *law* about *doctrines* or *offences* of that Nature.

Truth. Master *Cotton* in all this *controversie*, pleades that they ought to have: and though he saith, that *Magistrates* may suspend their duty, untill they be informed, yet he never saith, that the *Ministers* of *Christ* may suspend their *duty* of humble *information*, and stirring up them up to so high a part of their *Duty*, as concerns the souls of their *subjects* and the *worship* of *God*.

76] *Peace.* I remember, that *Gardiner* and *Boner*, &c. could not make the fire burn to consume the people of *God*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, untill *Edwards* laws Laws for persecuting of Christ Jesus. were *repealed*, and *Maries* bloody laws were *established*; and so they were forced to suspend a while untill they had conjured up a *Parliament* to do both the one and the other, as their *slaves* and *drudges*, for

them :¹ And tis true, what the *Spirit* of *God* in *David* pronounceth (*Pfal.* 82.) that under the *maske* or *colour* of a *law* (which carries with it the name and sound of *reason* and *righteousness*) the *wickedness* of the *world* is established : And hence the people and *servants*, and *Saints* of the most *high* *God*, feeble the weight of the *violence* of the *Nimrod persecutors* or *hunters*.

But this I wonder at, that Master *Cotton* subjoyneth, that *Christ Jesus* himself, and his *disciples* (under the notion of not *exasperating* the *Pharisees*) should not reprove the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*.

Truth. It cannot sink with me, That the *Spirit* of *God* in *Christ Jesus* himself, and his *messengers*, should so far differ from *himself* in all his former *messengers* and *prophets*, who spared not to reprove the *highest Priests*, *Princes*, *Kings* and *kingdoms*; nor doth the practice of the *Lord Jesus* in so many places of *Matthew* (before his *thunderbolts* shot forth against them, *Mat.* 23.) give any countenance to so loose an *opinion*.

Peace. Master *Cotton*, who argues so much against the permitting of *blasphemers* to live in the *world*, may here call to minde, that if ever *blasphemy* were uttered against the *Son of God*, it was uttered by the *Pharisees* in the 12 of *Matthew*, when they imputed the casting out of the *devils* to the power of the *devil*.

The *Pharisees* blaspheming of *Christ Jesus*.

¹ Mary was proclaimed Queen, July 19, 1553, and Gardiner was released from the Tower and made Chancellor in the following August. In April, 1554, he attempted to carry a Persecution Bill through Parliament, and succeeded in the Commons. But it was not till

January, 1555, that Parliament removed all obstacles to the punishment of heresy, and January 28, the first court for heresy was opened, and Hooper and Rogers were tried. Froude, *Hist. of England*, vi. 32, 53, 314.

in *Christ Jesus*, and yet we finde not that *Christ Jesus* stirred up the *civil Magistrates* to any such duty of his to put the *blasphemers* to death, not the hereticks the *Sadduces*, who denied that fundamental, the *resurrection*.

Truth. It is most true, that the cause needeth no such *weapons*, nor spared he the *Pharisees* for fear of their *exasperations*, but poured forth on their *faces* and *bosoms* the forest *vials* of the heaviest doom and *censure* that can be suffered by the *children* of men, to wit, an *impossibility* of *repentance* and *forgiveness* of sins either in this or the world to come: And for the present, at [77] every turn he concludes them *hypocrites*, *blind guides*, which could not escape the *judgement* of *Hell*.

So that all other *sences* of those words [*Let them alone*] that is, of not reproofing them, cannot stand: nor if it were the *duty* of the *Ministers* of *Christ* to stir up the *civil Magistrate* against such hypocritical and blasphemous *Pharisees*, could *Christ Jesus himself* or his servants the *Apostles* be excused for not complaining to the *Romane State* against them; So leaving the blame upon the *conscience* of the *governors*, if the land were not purged of such *blasphemers* and fundamental opposers of the *Son of God*.

Let me me end (*sweet peace*) with the *bottom* of all such *persecutions*, Satan rageth against *God* and his *Christ*; that *devil* that cast the *Saints* into *prison*, *Rev. 2.* [10] (*what instruments soever he useth) would cast *Christ* himself into *prison* againe, and to the *gallows* againe, if he came again in *person* into any (the most refined) persecuting *state* in the world.

* *Magistrates,*
kings, high
priests:
Herod, bad
kings,
good kings,
&c.

Examination of CHAP. XXX.*Peace.*

I Doubt not (*dear truth*) in the first place, but you cast an observant eye on Master *Cottons* collections in this Chapter, from *Pauls* words *Acts* 25. 11. I will mention the two first.

1. That a man may be such an *offender* in matters of *Religion* against the *law* of *God* (against the *church*) as well as in *civil matters* against *Cæsar*, as to be worthy of death.

2. That if a *servant* of *God* should commit any such *offence*, he would not refuse *judgement* to the death, *vers.* 11.

Truth. *Paul* onely faith in the general, *If I have committed ought worthy of death, I refuse not to die:* *Acts* 25. 11. *considered.* Now therefore as *Paul* said, *No man* (that is, no man justly) may *deliver me to the Jews*; So say I, no man from these words of *Paul* (without wronging him and his *Master* the *God* of *Truth*) can draw such a *conclusion*, as if *Paul* had acknowledged it evil in him to have *preached* against the *laws* of the *Jews* or the *temple*, which the *Lord Jesus* and his *servants* after him, so abundantly did, [78] although at this time (in point of fact) *Paul* might well say, he had not done ought against the *law* of the *Jews*, I mean the *ceremonial law* and the *Temple*, for he had now observed the ceremonies of the *Law*, and the holiness of the *Temple*: although for this some use to blame him, not discerning that *Paul* knew there was a time to honour those *ceremonies*, even after *Christs*

death, and a time as much to debase, dishonour, and abolish them.

Peace. His third *collection* is, That it is lawfull even in *Ecclesiastical causes* to appeale to a *Pagan Magistrate*.

Truth. As I utterly renounce such a *conclusion* (any otherwise then in respect of civil *violence* offered for a mans *conscience*, which *violence Cæsar* ought to see revenged and punished) so neither will this instance of *Paul* prove it: for in appealing to an higher *Judge*, a man alwayes presupposeth (if not skill perfect, yet) competent skill, and a true power committed from *God*, to judge in such cases, which *Paul* for many reasons, both in this Chapter, and elsewhere manifested, could not suppose in the *Romane Cæsars*, or any civil *Magistrate*. No appeals
to the civil
powers in
matters
meerly
spiritual.

Peace. Master *Cotton* urgeth, that these words (*verse* 9.) [These Things] imply matters of *Religion* as well as *civil things*.

Truth. Those words [These Things] were not the words of *Paul*, but the words of *Festus*.

2. Grant them *Pauls* words, yet if for those things the *Jews* seek his life, *Paul* well appeals to *Cæsar* against them, for *Cæsar* is bound to protect the *bodies*, *goods*, or good *names* of his *subjects*, either from false *accusations* in *civil things*, or *persecution* for matters of *conscience*, which is a *violence* against the *civil state*, of which *Cæsar* was the *supreme officer*.

Peace. His fourth *collection* is, that civil *Magistrates* may and ought to be acquainted with all matters of *Religion*, especially *capital*.

Truth. In *twenty five* parts of the world of *thirty*,

civil Magistrates cannot possibly be thus acquainted; for the sound of *Christ Jesus* is not there to be heard, as the best *Historians* and *Cosmographers* yeeld.¹

Peace. It seemes strange, if *Christ Jesus* had intended any such *delegation* of *spiritual power* to *civil Magistrates*, that he [79] should keep the very sound of his name from them.

Few Magistrates in the world know Christ Jesus.

Againe, in the other five parts of the world, where his name is founded, how rarely hath he acquainted any *civil Magistrate* with the saving knowledge of his will?

Truth. I add, that such rare ones, that savingly know *Christ Jesus* and his will, are no judges in such cases over the consciences of their brethren, or any, by way of *civil judicature*, this very instance of *Pauls* appealing to *Cæsar* hath and shall further declare and manifest.

Peace. But what should be the reason why Master *Cotton* affirmeth, That the *civil Magistrate* ought to be able to judge of all *capital* offences against *Religion*, but not of all *questions*?

Mystical and cruel Surgery.

Truth. The truth is, if the *civil Magistrate* were a *Surgeon* appointed of *Christ Iesus* to judge in causes that concern cutting of *life* and *limbe*, &c. he would beyond all question be able to judge of *petty cuts*, *wounds*, &c. But *Satan* that old deceiver, that knew (by *Gods* permission) how to cozen *Adam*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Peter* (the most perfect, wise, and holiest of *Gods servants*) is not now to learn how to cheat Master *Cotton* also; *Satan* well sees, if Master *Cotton*

¹ "The *World* divided (say our ablest *Cosmographers*) into *thirty* parts, as yet but *five* of *thirty* have heard of the sweet

name of *Jesus a Saviour*." *Hireling Ministry*, p. 3.

should grant it the *Magistrates* duty to judge in lesser questions, the hope of *Benefices* and *Living*s were gone, and the trade of *Synods* would down: And if he should not grant it to be the *Magistrates* duty to judge in capitals, the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, and all persecuting priests, would want the secular power, the servile executioners of their most wicked and most bloody decrees and sentences.

Peace. In the next place Master Cotton seemes to charge a contradiction upon the discusser, for saying, that civil *Magistrates* were never appointed by God defenders of the faith of *Iesus*, and yet every one is bound to put forth his utmost powers in Gods busines.

Truth. Love hath charged the discusser to spare the tearm of contradiction in many passages of Master Cottons writing, where he hath (to his understanding) observed them, to prevent exasperations, &c. contrarily Master Cotton against the discusser, straines the text and Margin to sound out contradictions, contradictions, to all passengers.

80] But let us examine. And first, Master Cotton will not deny, but the son of perdition, the Pope of Rome (whose coming and practice is by the work of the devil) was the blasphemous author (he and his Cardinals in Council together) of that title defender of the faith sent with great gratitude and solemnity to Henry the eighth, as a kingly popelike reward, for penning (or bearing the name of) a blasphemous writing against Christ Iesus in his holy truth proclaimed by Luther.¹

¹ Henry VIII. wrote *Affertio septem theorum*, which he dedicated to Leo X., and sent a copy in elegant Ms. to Rome, sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lu-

Peace. With what *eyes* and *ears* such *blasphemous* and *bloody titles* are to be lookt upon and heard by the chaste *eyes* and *ears* of *Christs Doves*, *Christ Iesus* will one day, and shortly make appear.

Truth. But what *contradiction* will be in the later, to wit, [That every one must do his utmost in *Gods business*] when this former (to wit, to be a *defender of the Faith*) is constantly denied to be any of the *businesses* of *civil officers*, and the *preservation* of the *civil state*, which charge and worke by the *civil state* can only lawfully (and therefore possibly) be committed to them? For otherwise to take these *words* in a literal *sence*, without respect to the *rules* and *limits* of *Gods order* and *righteousness*, what is it but to fire the *world* with *wild-fire* of blind *zeale*, and to tumble down all *Gods* beauteous *structures* and *buildings* into a *Chaos* and *confusion* of *Antichristian Babylon*? And this especially by the meanes of such who think and say, that they cannot serve God with all their might except they punish *blasphemers*, and fight against *blasphemous nations*, and subdue (not only the holy land from the *Turk*, but) even all the *world* from their *idolatries* and *blasphemies*, if it lie in their power; which *spirit* whether it be the *spirit* of the Son of God, and Prince of *peace*, or the *spirit* of the *world*, the *spirit* of the son of *perdition*, let every mans own *spirit* search and judge in the holy fear and presence of God.

which is still shown in the Library of the Vatican. The Pope proposed in consistory to give Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*. This gave rise to considerable debate, but the Pope's

proposition finally prevailed, and a bull was issued, conferring the title on the King and his posterity. Rolceoe, *Life of Leo X.* ii. 233.

Peace. But further (saith Master Cotton) it was unnecessary, yea folly and preposterous to have complained to *Herod, Pilate, Cæsar*, against the *Heresies* of the *Pharisees*: For if a poor *sheep* should complain to the *Wolves* of the *Wolves heresies*, would not the whole kennel of *Wolves* rise up against him, &c? Would it not have disturbed the civil state, by putting them into *jealousies* of a [81] *new kingdome*, and it was necessary the *Gospel* should first be known and received, believed and professed, before any could be complained of for *Apostacie* from it into *heresie*.

Truth. Master Cotton cannot deny, but that most of the *Magistrates* of the *world* (by far) are such *Christ* as *Herod, Pilate, Cæsar* were, without *God*, and *Jesus hath* *enemies* to him, yea also in that little part of the *world* which is called *Protestant*. Now if they are *rarely furnished his* but *kennels of Wolves* (compared with *Christs sheep*) *people with* as Master Cotton expresseth, I first demand how *godly Magistrates.* *poorely hath Christ Jesus* in all *ages* provided for and furnished his people with such main pillars of their *spiritual joyes, light and confidence*, as *godly and Christian Magistrates*?

Peace. It is as cleer as the Sun beams, that if ever *Christ Jesus* had intended such an *ordinance* in and over his *church*, he would never have been so mistaken, as to supply his *sheep* in all *ages*, and in all parts of the *world*, with *kennels of Wolves* in stead of *godly and Christian Shepherds*.

Truth. But secondly, Grant them to be *kennels of Wolves* in Master Cottons fence, yet what bar is this to any from *presenting*, and to them from receiving such *complaints* as are proper to their *cognizance*, to

their *duty* and *calling* (were they truly called of *God* and *Christ* to such a *service*) to wit, to govern in *spiritual, Ecclesiastical* or *Church causes*? what though a *Magistrate* be a *drunkard, whoremonger, opperffour,* is it not the *duty* of the people to complain to him of *drunkards, thieves, whoremongers, oppressors*? whom if he punish not, but countenance, &c. yet have such *petitioners* discharged their *consciencs*, and left the *guilt* upon the right head, who should be an *head* of *civil righteousness*, but is an *head* of *wickedness* and *iniquity*.

Peace By this *argument* of *Master Cottons*, the poor *widow*, that sued for right to the unjust *Judge*, that neither feared *God*, nor regarded man, took a foolish and a preposterous course, though commended by the *Lord Jesus*, Luk. 18. [2-7.]

Truth. Indeed (as *Master Cotton* saith) If we look at the probability of any wholesome fruit from such *trees*, we cannot expect *grapes* from such *briars*, nor *figs* from such *thistles*: But looking at the providence of *God*, who ruleth and over-ruleth the hearts of *Kings* and all *Magistrates* (as in the case of the poor *widow* and [82] thousand others) as also at what is their *Duty* and *profession*, to wit, to invite cheerfully their *subjects* to bring their *complaints* to them; as also what is the *duty* of the wronged and *oppressed* to wit, to deliver and discharge their own *souls*, I see not but it is safe, seasonable, and a duty, to cry even to the unjust *Judge* for *Justice*, as that poor woman did.

Peace. Yea, were *Cæsar, Herod, Pilate* (by virtue of their *places, offices, and duties* (*Ecclesiastical Judges*, and ought to have suppressed the *heresies* and blas-

phemies of the *Pharisees*? why should it be impossible, but they might have removed the *Pharisees* offence, as many *Kings* of *England* and *France* (though evil themselves) have stirred mightily upon complaints of their *subjects* against the *Popish Pharisees* of their times, yea the highest of them the *Pope* himself? And if *Master Cottons* doctrine be true, why must not the *Magistrate* be sought unto, that a true *Gospel* be received and believed? Why may not the *civil power* be a judge in the first receiving of the *Gospel*, as afterward for the *preserving* and *restoring* of it?

Truth. Such is the *brightness* of the *Gospel* of *Christ Iesus*, and the dread and the power of the two-edged *sword* coming out of his *mouth*, subduing and slaying the highest *opposites* and *adversaries*, that it will prove to be unnecessary, foolish and preposterous to run to any other *sword* or *censures*, then those alone of *Christs*, so mighty, and so powerful, were they rightly administered, as the *Popish* and *Protestant world* pretendeth.

Peace. Lastly, *Master Cotton* professeth he knows not how *Magistrates* can know the *Son*, and kiss him, and acknowledge his *kingdome*, and submit their *crowns* to it, love his *truth*, be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* to his *church*, and yet not be *defenders* of it.

Truth. If kings must submit their *crowns* to this *kingdome* of *Christ*, must it not undeniably follow, that the *kingdom* of *Christ Iesus* is far greater and *higher* then their *thrones* and *crowns*? (for none will submit to the *lesser*, *weaker* &c.) And if so, what weakness is it yet to expect, that the inferiour power *Defendor* and *authority*, to wit, *civil* and earthly, must defend *of the* the highest and most *glorious crown* and *throne* of *faith*.

Christ Iesus? Like as if a poor *Indian Canow* should submit it self to some *Royal Navy*, and yet must be 83] this *Navies defender*; or a few naked *Americans* submit to some *Army* or *kingdome*, and yet these poor naked ones must bear (and that seriously without *Iesting*) the title of their *defenders*.

Truth. Master *Cotton* and those of his bloody judgement are not contented that the *civil powers* defend the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Saints* from *oppressors*, from *persecutors*, &c. that *love* and *affection* by all gracious means be exprest more to the *Saints* then to other people of their *dominions*, that all true *Christian* meanes be used for the spreading of the name and *truth* of the *Lord Iesus*; I say, this serves not the turn, and gives not content, except also the *Magistrate* defend by *civil sword*, the *purity* of the *doctrine*, and the *ordinances* of *Christ Iesus* in his *church*, in *punishing* and *suppressing* the contrary by arme of *flesh*, whether *within* or *without* the *church*.

Peace. In this last respect I must speak an high
A bold, but and bold word, to wit, That the poorest *youth* or
a true *maid*, who hath more *knowledge* and *grace* of *Christ*
word. then a king or Emperour hath (as well sometimes it hath and may come to pass) may be a greater *contender* for the truth, and a great *defender* of the *faith* of *Iesus*, then the *king* or Emperour, and so consequently then all the *kings* of the whole world.

Truth. *Paul* was set for the *defence* of the *Gospel* and consequently every *believer* in *Iesus* (according to his measure of *grace* received) and therefore, your word is not more *bold* then *true*. For *spiritual defences* are most proper to a spiritual estate, and so accordingly most potent, prevalent, and mighty.

Examination of CHAP. XXXI.

Peace.

Here first Master Cotton will not own it, that the title of *Iudges of spiritual causes* be given to Civil Magistrate.

Truth. The Parliament of England established King Henry the eighth *supream head and Governor* over the church of England, and what is this but *supreme Iudge* in all *Ecclesiastical causes*? What though the tearme *judge* be stumbled at by some, [84] and the tearme *head* will not down with others? yet take but what Master Cotton grants: And (as the devil himself, lay hid under Samuels mantle,¹ so) under Master Cottons tearme of *fathers, mothers, shepherds* (that is, *spiritual fathers, mothers, shepherds*) must of necessity be concluded an *headship*, and *power*, and *office of judging*, when this child doth a mis, when these sheep go astray, who are *schismaticks*, who *hereticks*, who *sheep*, who *Wolves*, that the *sheep* may be corrected and reduced, and the *Wolves* braines knockt out.

Peace. They may judge (saith Master Cotton) but (not with a church) but *politick power*, and for want of which, and for giving their *kingdome* to the Beast (*Revel. 17. 12, 13.*) God (saith he) opened a way for the *Turkes* to break in and destroy the third part of *Christendome*, *Rev. 9. 14. to 21.*

Truth. Let it be under what *cloake*, or *colour*, or notion soever, let it be *politick* (indeed) and *subtle*, or

¹ This assumes the apparition of an evil spirit under the form of Samuel in Saul's interview with the witch of Endor. "And she said, An old man cometh up: and he is covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel." 1 Samuel, xxviii. 14.

plaine and simple, yet it seemes it is true, that he must *judge*, which will not be owned in *plaine tearmes*, but as a *Protector*, a *Father* or a *Shepheard*.

Secondly, Those *Scriptures* quoted do not lay a *guilt* upon the ten *horns* or *kings* for suffering the *beast* in their *dominions*, but for giving their power and *authority* unto him.

Thirdly, the *civil peace* was not dissolved but preserved for many hundred yeers before the *Turkes* rose, to punish either the *Eastern* or *Western* part of *Antichristian Christendome*: So that a false religion doth not immediately and instantly dissolve the *civil peace*, but *kingdomes* and *states* professing false religions may flourish. 'Tis true, God in his deep *councils* and *times* brings *judgements*, *eternal* and *temporal*, upon false worshipping *states*, especially where the *truth* of *Christ* is *presented* and *persecuted*; Yet divers *ages* of *temporal prosperity* to the *Antichristian kingdom*, prove that common *Assumption* and *maxime* false, to wit, that the *church* and *Commonweale* are like *Hipocrates twins*, weep and laugh, flourish and fade, live and die together.¹

*The plague
of the
Turkes
upon the
Antichristian
world.*

Peace. I cannot reach the *bottom* of this next passage of Master *Cotton*, viz. that *Magistrates* may be subject to the *church* and lick the dust of her *feet*, and yet be *supreme governors* of the [85] *church* also: In *spiritual matters* (saith he) and in a right *administration* of them, he is subject; but in *civil things*,

¹ "Wee may try the waight of that commonly received and not questioned opinion, viz. That the *civill state* and the *spirituall*, the *Church* and *Commonweale*, they are like *Hippocrates twinnes*, they are borne together, grow up together, laugh together, weepe together, sicken and die together." *Bloudy Tenent*, Pub. Narr. Club, iii. 333. After some search we have failed to verify this reference.

and in the corrupt administration of *church-affaires* ^{*The Civil*} *Magistrate* (so far corrupt as tendeth to the disturbance of *civil* ^{*no govern-*} *peace*) there the *Magistrates* (saith he) are *supream* ^{*or over the*} *governors*, even over the *churches* in their own *dominions*. ^{*spiritual*} *kingdome* ^{*of Christ.*}

Truth. Who sees not here, but by this *Doctrine* *Magistrates* must judge, when the *church* is rightly administered, and when it is corruptly administered: And that whatever the *Ministers* of the *church*, or the whole *church* judge, that is nothing, for the *Magistrate* if he be *supream* governor, he must judge? and what is this but even in the very same respect, I say in one and the same respect, to make them *high* and *low*, *up* and *down*, *mountaines* and *vallies*? *supream* governors, and so above the *church*, anon agen to lick the dust of the *feet* of the *church*; which Master *Cotton* will as soon make good, as bring the *East* and the *West* together.

Besides (as elsewhere I observed) what if the people will have no *kings*, *governors* &c. nay no *Parliament*, nor *general courts*, but leave vast *interregnums* or *Ruptures* of government, yea conclude upon frequent *changes* (as all *nations* of the *world* have had great changes this way) shall the *churches* of *Christ* *Jesus* be without an *head*, a governor, defender, protector? What a slavery doth this bloody doctrine bring the faire *Spouse* of *Christ* into?

Peace. In the passage concerning *Saul*, Master *Cotton* observeth, that *Saul* was not taken away for exercising *civil power* against *spiritual wickedness* in the case of *witches*.

Truth. *Saul* was king of *Israel*, the *church* of *God*, and a typical king, the anointed or *Christ* of *God*;

*Whether
Saul a type
of Christ.*

and Master Cotton himself will subscribe to the confession of *Nathaniel* to *Christ Jesus*, Thou art the king of *Israel*, which he was and is in his own most holy person, as also in his *Ministers* and *governors* during his absence. It was now *Sauls* duty to put literal *witches* to death in his *Christian Israel*, his *church* and *Congregation*.

It is true, *Saul* forsaking the *God of Israel*, perished for other wickedness, and among other his sins, for persecuting or hunting righteous *David*, and therein *Saul* is a type and warning to all [86] the *apostates* and *persecuting Sauls* of the earth, that *desperation* and desperate self-destruction attend them.

Peace. But whither tends this last passage concerning *David*? We read not (saith Master Cotton) that he did exercise any *spiritual power* as a *King*, but as a *prophet*. Will he commend *Sauls* kingly acting in *spiritual* things, as just; and shall not *David* (whose *name* and *throne* were most eminently figurative of *Christ Jesus*) be found a *king* in *Israel*, the house and *church* of *God*?

*The kings
of Israel
and Judah
types.*

Truth. The pattern of *David*, *Solomon*, and the good *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, is the common and great argument of all that plead for *Magistrates* power in *spiritual* cases: And indeed, what *power* was that but *spiritual*, which he exercised in bringing up the *Arke*, expressly said to be done by *king David*? 2 *Sam.* 6. [12.] What *power* was that but *kingly*, put forth in ordering and disposing the *services* of the *Priests* and *Levites*, and *singers*, 1 *Chron.* 16 [4-6?]

Peace. Master Cotton not ignorant of this, it may be was not pleased with that *passage*, viz. [That *God*

will take away such *stayes*, upon whom *Gods* people rest in his wrath, that *king David*, that is, *Christ Jesus* the *Antitype*, in his own *spiritual power* in the hands of his *Saints*, may *spiritually*, and for ever be advanced.]

Truth. This *power* the *General Councils*, the *Popes*, the *Prelates*, the *kings* of the earth, the *civil courts* and *Magistrates*, lay claime unto, and most of them with *bloody hands*, yea and *Gods* servants have too long leaned unto, and longed after, such an *arme* of *flesh*, which proves (most commonly) but *Sauls arme*, an oppressing and *persecuting*, and a self-killing and destroying power at the last.

Examination of CHAP. XXXII.

Peace.

THIS Chapter containes, a twofold denial: First (saith Master Cotton) we hold it not lawful for a *Christian Magistrate* [87] to compell by civil sword, either *Pharisee*, or *Pagan*, or *Jew*, to profess his religion.

Truth. He that is deceived himself with a *bad commodity*, puts it off as *good* to others: Master Cotton believes, and would make others believe, that it is no *compulsion*, to make *laws* with *penalties* for all to come to *church*, and to *publike worship*; which was ever in our *father dayes*, held a sufficient *trial* of their religion, and of *consenting* to or *dissenting* from the religion of the times. Hence by some is that of *Luk. 14. [23.]* alledged, Compel them to come in, sufficiently

fulfilled, if they be so far compelled, as to be conformable to come to *church*, though it be under the pretence and mask of comming only to hear the *word*, whereby they may be *converted*.

But it is needles to stand *guessing* and *guessing* at the *weight*, when the *scales* are at hand, the holy *word* of *God*, by which we all profess to have our *weight*, or to be found too light.

Peace. Master *Cotton* therefore (Secondly) denies that a blind *Pharisee* may be a good *subject*, and as peaceable and profitable to the *civil state* as any, since they destroyed the *civil state* by destroying *Christ*.

Truth. When we speak of *civil state*, and their *administrations*, it is most improper and fallacious to wind or weave in the consideration of their true or false *religions*.

It is true, *idolatry* brings *judgement* in *Gods* time (and so do other sins, for we read not of *idolatry* in *Sodoms punishment*, *Ezek.* 16.[49. 50.]) notwithstanding there is a present *civil state* of men combined to live together there in a *commonweale*, which *Gods* people are commanded to pray for (*Jerm.* 29.[7.]) whatever be the *religion* there publicly professed. Beside, the *Pharisees* destroying *Christ*, were guilty of blood and persecution, which is more then *idolatry*, &c. and cries to heaven for vengeance.

Peace. It cannot therefore with any shew of *charity* be denied, but that divers *priests* of *Babel*, might be *civil* and *peaceable*, notwithstanding their *religion* and *conscience*.

Truth. Yea it is known by experience, that many thousands of *Mahumetan*, *Popish* and *Pagan Priests*

are in their persons, both of as *civil* and courteous and peaceable a nature, as any of the *subjects* in the state they live in.

88] The truth is, that herein all the *priests* in the world, *Mahumetan, Popish, Pagan* and *Protestant*, are the greatest *peace-breakers* in the world, as they (fearing their own cause) never rest stirring up *Princes* and people against any (whether *Gods* or the *devils* instruments) that shall oppose their own religion and conscience, that is in plaine *English*, their *profits, honours* and *bellies*.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace.

THE entrance of this Chapter (*dear truth*) looks in mine eye like one of the bloody *fathers* of the *inquisition*, and breaths (like *Paul* in his mad zeal and frenzy) slaughters against the Son of *God* himself, though under the name or brand of a *seducer*, as all *persecutors* have ever done: For (saith Master Cotton) he that corrupteth a soul with a corrupt religion, layeth a *spreading leaven* which corrupteth a state, as *Mitchals* idolatry corrupted *Laiſh*, *Judg.* [18.] 19. and that *Apostacy* was the *captivity* of the land; and the worshipping of *images* brought the plague of the *Turkes*, and therefore it is *lex talionis*, that calleth for not only *soul* for *soul*, but *life* for *life*.

Truth. Thy tender *braine* and *heart* cannot let flie an *arrow* sharpe enough to pierce the *bowels* of such a *Bloody Tenent*.

Peace. The flaming *jealousie* of that most holy and righteous *Judge*, who is a *consuming fire*, will not ever hear such *Tenents*, and behold such practices in silence.

Truth. Sweet peace, long and long may the *Almond-tree* flourish on *Master Cottons* head in the armes of true *Christianity* and true *Christian* honour, And let *New-Englands Colonies* flourish also (if *Christ* so please) untill he come againe the second time: But that he who is love it self, would please to tell *Master Cotton* and the *Colonies*, and the *world*, the untrueneſs, uncharitableneſs, unmercifulneſs, and unpeaceableneſs of ſuch *concluſions*: For is not this the plaine *Engliſh* and the bottome, to wit, If the *ſpirit* of *Chriſt Jeſus* in any of his *ſervants, ſons* or *daughters*, [89] witneſſing againſt the *abominations* or ſtinks of *Antichriſt*, ſhall perſwade one *ſoul*, man or woman, to fear *God*, to come out of *Babell*, &c. to reſuſe to bow down to, and to come out from communion with a *ſtate-golden-image*, and not to touch what it is perſwaded is an unclean thing.

Of ſeduc-
ing.

That man or woman who was the *Lambs* and the *Spirits instruments* thus to enlighten and perſwade one ſoul, he hath (ſaith this tenent) laid a *leaven*, which corrupteth the *ſtate*, that is, the *land, town, city, kingdom, or Empire* of the *world*; that *leaven* ſhall bring the *captivity*, ruine and deſtruction of the *ſtate*, and therefore *Lex Talionis*, not only *ſoul* for *ſoul* in the next, but *life* for *life* alſo in this preſent *world*.

Peace. All thy *witneſſes* (*dear truth*) in all ages

have borne the *brand* and black mark of *seducers*, and still shall, even *Christ Jesus* himself, to the last of his holy *army* and followers against his enemies.

Truth. How famous, or rather abominably infamous hath been the practice of all *persecutors* this way? I shall pick out one instance, a very stinking weed out of *Babels* desert (to let pass all the bloody, *bulls* and their roarings and *threatning* of *Councils*, *Popes* and *Emperors*, *kings*, *Bishops*, *Commissaries* &c. against the *Waldensians*, *Wickleivians*, the *Hussites*, *Hugonites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, &c.) their infections and seducings. To let pass former and latter *persecutions* in our own *English Nation*, which hath been (as *France*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Low-countries*, &c. also) a *slaughter-house* of *Christs lambs*; one instance more pertinent then many, we have (in the raigne of that wise and mighty prince *Henry the eighth*) of bloody *Longland*, *Lincolnes Bishop*, acting to the life *Master Cottons Tenent* against *seducers* throughout his *Diocess*. What *oaths* did he exact? what *articles* did he invent, ^{*Bishop*} to find out the *meetings* the *conventicles*, the *confer-* ^{*Longlands*} *ences*, of any poor servants of *God*, men and women, ^{*subtle*} day or night; whether the *father* read to the *child*, ^{*Oaths of*} or the *childe* to the *father*, the *husband* to the *wife*, ^{*inquisition.*} or the *wife* to the *husband*? Yea, whether they spake any thing (though never so little) out of any line of holy *Scriptures*, or any of *Wickliffes* books, or any good *English writings*: By which abhorred *practices*, the *fathers* (caught in this bloody *Bishops oath*, vehemently forced upon all suspected) [90] the *fathers*, I say were forced to accuse and betray their *children*, the *children* their *fathers*, *husbands* their *wives*, *wives*

their *husbands*, for fear of horrible death on the one side, or else of running upon the rocks of *Perjury* on the other side.¹

Peace. Hold (*dear truth*) and stop; my *spirit* is wounded with such *relations*.

Truth. O how were the *Saints*, and *Christ Jesus* in them, wounded with such *tenents* and *practices*!

Peace. Master *Cotton* will salve this up (with what he elsewhere saith) thus: *Longlands*, and the *Papists religion*, and the *religion of England*, was then false in that *kings* time.

Truth. What then? No pious and sober man can hold all men devoid of *conscience* to *God*, except himself. In all *religions*, *sects*, and *consciences*, the sons of men are more or less zealous and precise, though it be in falsehood.

2. But let it be granted, that the *religion* persecuted is false, and that a false *religion* like *leaven*, will spread, as did this *idolatry* of *Michal*, *Jeroboam*, and others; and grant that this *idolatry* will bring *judgements* from heaven in the end, yet I desire Master *Cotton*, or any knowing man, to answer to these two *questions*.

1. Where finde we, since the comming of *Christ Jesus*, a *land* like *Canaan*, a *state-religion*, a *City*, or *Town-religion*, wherein the *Townes*, or *Cities*, or *kingdomes apostacie* may be feared (as Master *Cotton* here

¹ John Longland (1473-1547) was confessor of Henry VIII., and became Bishop of Lincoln in 1520. Fox gives a table from the registers of the diocese of Lincoln, with the procees of trial in the case of a large number of persons, who

were subjected to the inquisitions described in the text. There is no doubt that this account given by Fox was Williams's authority for the above statements. *Aëts and Monuments*, ii. 23-40.

writes of *Laisb*) and consequently the *Townes* or *Cities captivity* for that sin?

2. Where read we of the destruction of a *land* for *idolatry*, or *images*, without a ripeness in other sins, and especially of *violence* and *oppression* (of which *persecution* is the greatest?) And therefore to follow Master Cottons instance of the *Turks*, beside *idolatry* (which saith Master Cotton brought the plague of the *Turks*, Rev. 9. [14–21.] read we not also in that *Scripture*, and in all *histories*, of their detestable and wonderful *whoredomes*, *witchcrafts*, *thefts*, *slaughters*, and *murthers*, amongst which this bloody Tenent of *persecution* was ever in most high esteem? &c. *Causes of destruction to a Nation.*

Peace. Indeed *Babel* hath been filled with blood of all sorts, *Revelations* the 18. [24] but in especial manner hath the *whore* [91] been drunk with the blood of the *Saints*, and *witnesses* of *Jesus*, Revel. 17. [6.]

Truth. Hence then not *idolatry* onely, but that bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* (the great *fire-brand* and *incendiary* of all *Nations* and *Commonweals*) brought in the bloody *Turkes* to revenge Gods *truth* and *witnesses* slaine by the idolatrous and bloody *Antichristians*.

Peace. I something question, that it can be proved, that the most righteous *Judge* of the whole world ever destroyed *state* or *nation* for *idolatry*, but where this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* was joyned with it, that is, until he had graciously sent *witnesses* against such *idolatries*, and till such *witnesses* were despised and persecuted, and therefore here comes in seasonably the sad exprobaton of the *Lord Jesus*, against *Jerusalem*, threatening the ruine and desolation of it,

Oh *Ierusalem, Ierusalem*, which killest the *Prophets*; and stonest them which were sent unto thee, &c!

Truth. I add lastly, Let it be granted that a soul is corrupted with a false *religion*, and that that false *Religion*, like a *leaven*, in time hath corrupted the *state*;

Yet first, that *state* or *land* is none else but a part of the *world*, and if so (since every part more or less in degree follows the nature of the whole) it is but natural, and so lieth as the whole *world* doth in *wickedness*; and so, as a *state* or part of the world, cannot but alter from one false way or path to another (upon this supposition (as before) that no *whole state, kingdom, City, or Town* is *Christian* in the new *Testament*.

*All nations
Cities,
Towns,
&c. are
part of the
world.*

Secondly, Grant this *state* to be so corrupted or altered from one corrupt *religion* to another, yet that *state* may many *ages* enjoy civil *peace* and worldly prosperity, as all *histories* and *experience* testifies.

Thirdly, That *idolatry* may be rooted out, and another *idolatrous religion* of the *conqueror* (as in the *Romane* and other *conquests*) brought: in or the *religion* may be changed something to the better, by the coming of new *Princes* to the *crown*, as we see in *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, in our own *Nation*, and of late times.

*Change of
Religions.*

Lastly, A *soul* or *souls* thus leavened, may be reduced 92] by *repentance* (as often it pleaseth *God* so to work, why then should there (as Master *Cotton* intimates) such a peremptory bloody sentence be thundred out as *life* for *life*, &c.

Peace. But, saith Master *Cotton*, *false prophets*, in the old *Testament*, were to die, but for attempting;

and the reason was not from any *typical holiness* of the *land*, but from the dangerous wickedness of the attempting to thrust away a soul from *God*, which is a greater injury, then to deprive a man of *bodily life*.

Truth. The reason to me appears plainly *typical*, with respect to that holy *nation*, and the *seducers*, seeking to turn the soul away from the *Lord their God*, who had brought them forth from the *land of Egypt*, by such *signes, miracles &c.* Let Master *Cotton* now produce any such *nation* in the *whole world*, whom *God* in the *New Testament* hath literally and miraculously brought forth of *Egypt*, or from one *land* into another, to the truth and purity of his *worship*, &c. then far be it, but I should acknowledge that the *seducer* is fit to be put to death. But draw away the *curtaine* of the *shadow*, and let the *substance* appear, not a whole *Nation, City, &c.* but the *Christian church* brought by spiritual *signes* and *wonders* from the *Egypt* of this *world* in all *nations* of the *world*, where the *Gospel* comes. Justly therefore he that seduceth a soul from his *God* in *Christ*, and so endangereth to leaven that only true *Christian state* or *kingdome* the *church* of *Christ*, he ought to die (upon his obstinacy) without mercy, as well under *Christ*, as under *Moses*. Yea, he is worthy of a *forer punishment* (as saith the *Spirit of God*) who trampleth under feet the blood of *Christ*: such a *deceiver* or *seducer* (except he repent) is to be cut from the presence of the *Lord*, and to lose an *eternal life*: He that is cut off from *material Israel*, might yet repent and live eternally, but he that is cut off from *mystical Israel* under the *Gospel*, that is, for obstinacy in sin

*The state
of Israel
unparlled.*

*The pun-
ishments of
Christ
forer then
the punish-
ments of
Moses.*

(the proper *hereticke*) he is cut off to all eternity ; which punishment as it is infinitely transcendent and more dreadful in the nature and kind of it, so answereth it fully and infinitely that clause of Master Cotton, to wit, To thrust a soul from God is a greater injury then to deprive a man of his bodily *life*.

Peace. Now whereas the discusser added, That dead men cannot [93] die, nor be infected with false doctrine, and such is the *State* of all men, all *nations*, all the *world* over, until the *life* of *Christ Jesus* quicken them ; Master Cotton replies,

" First, Dead men may be made worse, and more " the children of *bell* then before, *Mat.* 23. [15.] and " therefore such as so corrupt them, are worthy in a " way of due proceeding of a twofold death.

" Secondly, Such as profess the truth of the *doctrine* and worship of *Christ*, they live a kind of " *spiritual life*, though not such as accompany *salvation*, else how are false *teachers*, and such as are led " by them, said to be twice dead, pluckt up by the " *roots*, *Jud.* 12.

Truth. Dead men may be made worse, that is, more to rot and stink ; yet this is no taking away of any *life*. And therefore there is no proportionable reason, why the *seducers* should suffer a *temporal death*, having neither taken away *spiritual* nor *natural life* ; only thus he may be justly liable to a *spiritual death*, for endeavouring to hinder a *spiritual life*, by furthering any in their natural state of *spiritual death*.

Of seducing.

2. For that place of *Iude*, Master Cotton knows that *Beza* propounds two senses.

First, Twice dead, that is a certaine number for ^{What} an uncertaine. ^{meant by} ^{twice dead.}

Secondly, This sence urged by Master Cotton, which if it be to be admitted, yet is it but in appearance, as his *life* which in *hypocrisie* he professed, was but in shew and appearance, he being never raised up from the *spiritual death* to a *spiritual life*, and therefore really never suffered the loss of a *spiritual life*, which he never had: And yet as in *typical Israel*, it stood with *Gods justice* to take away the *life* of the *seducer*, which seduced an *Israelite* from the *God of Israel*, or but attempted to do it: so stands it with the holy *justice of God*, to cut him off eternally, who but attempteth to take away or hinders the *spiritual* and *eternal life* of any.

Peace. Master Cotton in the next place presumes on advantage that the discusser should say, that none are infected with *natural plagues* or *spiritual*, but such [as] are thereto appointed, &c.

94] *Truth.* It is plaine that the discusser alleadged not that, to diminish or lessen sin (let it have its due *aggravation*) but as was said before in case of the not final deceiving of the *elect*, so was it here spoken not to derogate from *Gods meanes* and *remedies* against *natural* or *spiritual infection*, but to abate the needles feares of men, who are apt to cry out. Except the *civil sword* be drawn (and so therewith the *world* set together by the *eaes*) the *world* cannot be preserved from *infection*.

Peace. Whereas the discusser had affirmed, that *Christ Jesus* had not left his people destitute of *spiritual means* against *spiritual infections*; This is true

(faith Master Cotton) but it falleth out sometimes, that when the *church* hath cast out an *heretick*, yet he may destroy the *faith* of many, as did *Hymeneus* and *Philetus* (2 *Tim.* 2. 17.) and if the *Magistrates* sword do here rust, &c. such *leaven* may leaven the whole *country* &c. as *Arrianisme* leavened the world by *Constantines* indulgence.¹

Againe, faith he, it may be the *heretick* was never a member of the *church*; how then shall the *church* do?

Truth. Who can marvel at this, that the *dunghill* of this *world*, worldly men under the power of *Satan*, unto whom the obstinate person the *heretick* is cast, I say, that they, many of them, receive *worldly doctrine*, which the *church* as filth casts out? &c.

Of infection.

2. As *Paul* faith concerning the *salvation* of *Gods children*: Let the world perish, yet the foundation of *God* remaineth sure, he knows who are his, and how to provide meanes to save them, though the world still act it self, wallowing and tumbling (like *Swine*) in one puddle of *wickedness* after another.

3. Master Cotton should read a little further in the same *Scripture* quoted by him, where he finds not a tittle of *Pauls* directing *Timothy* to stir up the *secular*

¹ Constantine, at first indifferent, after the Council of Nice, banished Arius, "But," says Gibbon, "as if the conduct of the Emperor had been guided by passion instead of principle, three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed, before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect. The exiles were recalled. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which

would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. The Emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice, by issuing an absolute command that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day, which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired." Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 317; Neander, *Church History*, ii. 387; Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 311.

power (as the *Pope* speakes) to cut off *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, to prevent *infection*; but tels him, that the servants of *God* must not strive, but must quiet themselves with *patience*, waiting if peradventure *God* will please to give *repentance*.

Peace. Methinks this Answer may also fully satisfie his second *supposition*, to wit, if that the *heretick* was never of the *church*.

95] *Truth*. Yea what hath the *church* to do (that is, judicially) with him that is without? and what hath the *civil state* to judge him for who in *civil matters* hath not transgressed? In vaine therefore doth Master *Cotton* suggest a persecuting or hunting after the *souls* or lives of such, as being cast out of the *church*, keep private *conventicles* &c.

Peace. How grievous is this *language* of Master *Cotton*, as if he had been nourished in the *chappels* and *cloisters* of *persecuting prelates*, and *priests*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*? As if he never had heard of *Jesus Christ* in truth and meekness: For surely (as the discusser observed) *Christ Jesus* never appointed the *civil sword* an *Antidote* or *remedy* in such a case, notwithstanding Master *Cotton* replies that the *civil sword* was appointed a *remedy* in this case, by *Moses*, not *Christ*, *Deut.* 13.

Truth. *Moses* in the *old Testament* was *Christs* servant, yet *Moses* being but a servant, dispensed his power by carnal *rites* and *ceremonies*, *laws*, *rewards* and *punishments* in that holy *nation*, and that one land of *Canaan*: But when the *Lord Jesus* the *Son* and *Lord* himself was come, to bring the *truth*, and *life*, and *substance* of all those *shadows*, to break down the

partition-wall between Jew and Gentile, and to establish the *Christian worship* and *kingdome* in all *Nations* of the *world*, Master Cotton will never prove from any of the *books* and *institutions* of the *New Testament*, that unto those *spiritual remedies* appointed by *Christ Jesus* against *spiritual maladies*, he added the help of the *carnall sword*.

Peace. But *Christ* (saith Master Cotton) never abrogated the *carnall sword* in the new, which he appointed in the *old Testament*, and the reason of the *law*, to wit, an offence of thrusting away from the *Lord*, is perpetual.

Truth. If it appear (as evidently it doth) that this king (*Jesus* the *King of Israel*, wears his *sword* (the *Antitype* of the *Kings of Israel* their *swords*) in his mouth, being a sharpe two-edged sword, then the answer is as clear as the *Sun*, that scatters the clouds and darknes of the night.

*The sword
of typical
Israel a
type of
Christs
spiritual
sword.*

Besides, Master Cotton needs not flie to the *Popes* argument for *childrens baptisme*, to wit, to say that *Christ* never abrogated *Deut. 13.* therefore, &c. For Master Cotton knows the *profession* [96] of the *Lord Jesus*, *Iohn 18.* [36] that his *kingdome* was not earthly, and therefore his sword cannot be earthly; Master Cotton knows that *Christ Iesus* commanded a *sword* to be put up when it was drawn in the cause of *Christ*, and addeth a dreadful *threatning*, that all that take the sword (that is the *carnall sword* for his cause) shall perish by it.

Peace. And for the perpetuity of the *reason* of the *law*, you formerly fully satisfied, that even in the dayes of *grace*, for him that shall thrust away an

Israelite from his *God*, there is upon his *obstinacy* a greater punishment beyond all imagination (to wit, a spiritual cutting off from the *land of Canaan*) then under *Moses*, which was but from the *temporall*, the *type* and *shadow*.

But Master *Cotton* proceedeth, alleading, that the *Minister* of *God* must have in a readines to execute *vengeance* on him that doth *evil*; and *evil* it is (saith he) to *thrust* away *Gods* people from him.

Truth. Every *lawful Magistrate*, whether succeeding or elected, is not only the *Minister of God*, but the *Minister* or servant of the people also (what *people* or *nation* soever they be all the world over) and that *Minister* or *Magistrate* goes beyond his *commission*, who intermeddles with that which cannot be given him in *commission* from the people, unless Master *Cotton* can prove that all the people and inhabitants of all *nations* in the *world* have *spiritual power*, *Christs power*, *naturally*, *fundamentally* and *originally* residing in them (as they are people and inhabitants of this world) to rule *Christs Spouse* the *church*, and to give *spiritual power* to their officers to exercise their *spiritual laws* and commands; otherwise it is but prophaning the holy name of the most *high*. It is but flattering of *Magistrates*, it is but the accursed trusting to an *arme of flesh*, to perswade the *rulers* of the *earth*, that they are *Kings* of the *Israel* or *church* of *God*, who were in their *institutions* and *government* immediately from *God*, the *rulers* and *gavernors* of his *holy church* and people.

Peace. Grant (saith Master *Cotton*) that the *evil* be *spiritual*, and concern the inner man, and not the

civil state, yet that evill will be destructive to such a *City*, it shall not rise up the second time, *Nabum.*

1. 9.

Truth. Although that it pleaseth *God* sometimes to bring a [97] people to utter *destruction* for their *idolatry* against himself, and *cruelty* against his people; yet we see the Lord doth not presently and instantly do this, but after a long course of many *ages* and *generations*, as was seen in *Nineve* her self, and since in *Athens*, *Constantinople*, and *Rome* both *Pagan* and *Antichristian*. And therefore the example hereby *Master Cotton* produced, gives not the least colour of *warrant* for the *civil state* presently and immediately to execute vengeance for *idolatry* or *heresie* upon *persons* or *Cities* now all the world over, as he gave commandment to that *typical nation* of *Israel*, which is now also to be fulfilled spiritually upon the *spiritual Israelite*, or *Israelitish City*, a *particular church* or people falling away from the *living God* in *Christ Jesus*.

Peace. Whereas it was said by the discusser, that
 The charge of the civil Magistrate the *civil Magistrate* hath the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the subjects, and the *spiritual officers* of the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ*, the charge of their *souls* and *soul safety*. *Master Cotton* answers, First, If it were so that the *civil Magistrate* had the charge of the *bodies* and *goods* onely of the subject, yet that might justly excite to watchfulness against such *pollution* of *religion* as tends to *apostacy*, for *God* will visit *city* and *country* with *publike calamity*, if not with *captivity*, for the *churches* sake. The *idolatry* and *worship* of *Christians* (saith he) brought the *Turkish captivity* upon the *citys* and *countries* of *Asia*.

Truth. By *soul* and *soul* safety, I think Master Cotton understands the same with the *discusser*, to wit, the *matters* of *religion* and *spiritual worship*. If the *Magistrate* hath received any such *charge* or *commission* from *God* in *spiritual* things, doubtless (as before) the people have received it *originally* and *fundamentally* as they are a people: But now if neither the *nations* of the *world*, as *peoples* and *nations*, have received this *power* *originally*, and *fundamentally*; nor can they derive it *Ministerially*, to their *civil officers* (by what name or *title*, high or low, soever they be distinguished) Oh what *presumption*, what *prophaning* of *Gods* most holy name, what *usurpation* over the *souls* and *consciences* of men, though it come under the *vaile* or *vizard* of saving the *City* or *kingdome*, yea of *saving* of *souls*, and honoring of *God* himself?

98] Beside, *God* is not wont to visit any *country* or people in general for the sin of his people, but for their own *idolatries* and *cruelty* toward his people, as all *histories* will prove. And for this instance of the *Turkes*, I say it was not the *idolatry* and *image-worship* alone of the *Antichristians*, but joyned with their other sins, which brought *Gods* vengeance by the *Turks* upon them, as was said above, from *Revel.* 9. and especially their *Antichristian* cruelty grounded upon this bloody *doctrine* of *persecution*. *The plague of the Turkes.*

Both these *Antichristian states*, and since also the *Turkish Monarchy*, have flourished many *generations* in external and outward prosperity and glory, notwithstanding their *religion* is false, and although it is true, that in the time and period appointed, all *nations*

shall drink of the cup of *Gods* wrath, for their *nationall* sins, both against the first and second table, in matters concerning *God* and man.

Peace. How satisfie you Master *Cottons* second answer or question, to wit, Did ever *God* commit the charge of the *body* to any *Governor*, to whom he did not commit in his way the care of their *souls* also?

Truth. There is a twofold care and charge of *souls* manifested in holy Scripture.

*A twofold
care and
charge of
souls.*

First, That which in common belongs to all, to love our neighbor as our selves, to endeavor the present and eternal *welfare* both of *superiors*, *inferiors*, *equals*, *friends* and *enemies*; and this by *prayers*, *exhortations*, *reproofs*, *examples* of *justice*, *loving kindness*, *sobriety*, *godliness* &c.

*Christ the
true King
of Israel.*

But what is this to the second *charge* by way of *office*, which in the *old Testament* was given not only to *Priests* and *Levites*, but to the *governors* and *rulers* of the *Iewish state*: of which *state* (being mixed of *spiritual* and *civil*) they were the *head* and *governors*, as it was *Israel*, a *nation* of *worshippers* of the true *God*: And therein were they the *types* and *forerunners* of *Christ Jesus* the true *King* of *Israel*, as he is called, *Joh. 1. [49.]* The cure and charge of *souls*, now (saith Master *Cotton*) in this Chapter, belongeth by vertue of *office* to the *spiritual officers* of *Christs kingdom*: I add, and during the *desolation* of *Zion*, and the time of the *apostacy* from *Christs visible kingdome*, belongeth to the two *Prophets* and *witnesses* of *truth*, *Rev. 11. [6.]* but not to the *kings*, *rulers*, [99] *nations*, and *civil states* of the *world*, who can be no true *parallel* or *antitype* to the *Israel* or people of *God*.

Peace. Master Cotton objects *Jehosaphat* sent abroad *preachers* throughout all the *Cities* of *Judah*; and if that were a *type* of *Christ*, it were to act that now, which typed out *Christ*, and he fulfilled in his own person.

Truth. *Christ Jesus* sends out *preachers* three waies. *Christ's three-fold sending of preachers.*
First, In his own *person*, as the twelve and the seventy.

Secondly, By his *visible, kingly power*, left in the hand of his true *churches*, and the *officers* and *governers* thereof: In which sence that *church* of *Antioch*, and the *governors* thereof, rightly invested with the *kingly power* of *Christ Jesus*, sent forth *Paul* and *Barnabas* with *prayer* and *fasting*, and laying on of *hands*: And *Paul* and others of *Christ's messengers* being furnished with this *kingly power*, not only *planted churches*, but also ordained *elders* visited these *churches* or *visible cities* of *Judah*; that knowledge and teaching, and the *word* of *God* might dwell plentifully among them.

Thirdly, *Christ Iesus* as *king* of his *church*, and *head* of his *body*, during the *distractions* of his *house* and *kingdome* under *Antichrist's apostacy*, immediately by his own holy Spirit, stirs up and sends out those fiery *witnesses* (*Rev. 11.*) to testify against *Antichrist* and his several *abominations*: For as for lawful calling to a true ordinary *Ministry*, neither *Wickliff* in *England*, nor *Waldus* in *France*, nor *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prauge* in *Bohemia*, nor *Luther* in *Germany*, *No other true office of the Ministry, since the apostacy, but that* nor multitudes more of famous *preachers* and *prophets* of *Christ*, both in these *countries*, and also in *Spain*, *Italy* &c. I say, no true ordinary Ministerial calling of *prophecy*

and opening the Testament of Christ against the falshood of Antichrist. can they ever shew; but Christ Jesus by the secret motion of his own holy *Spirit* extraordinarily excited, in couraged and sent them abroad as an *Angel* or *messenger* (*Rev.* 14. [6.]) with the *everlasting Gospel* &c.

Peace. To apply these three wayes, or any of them, to the civil *Magistrates* and *rulers* of the *world* (of whom *Iehosaphat* in that his act should be a *type*) is but to prophane the holy name of *God*, to leane upon and idolize an *arme* of *flesh*, &c.

Truth. I grant, the civil *Magistrate* is bound to countenance the true *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus*, to incourage, protect, [100] and defend them from injuries, but to send them armed (as the *Popes Legats* and *Priests*) with a *sword* of *steel*, and to compel people to hear and obey them, this favours more of the spirit of the *Pope*, his courses and practises, Yea of *Mahomet* his *Mussel-men*, *Dirgies*, &c. then the *Lambe* of *God* and his *followers*.

Peace. What *Iehosaphat*, *Asa* *Hezekiah*, *Iosiah*, &c. did, they did not only by *perswasion*, *countenance*, *example* (by which all are bound to further the *preaching* of *Christ Jesus*) but also by force of *armes* and *corporal punishments*.

Truth. Yea even to the death it self: and this is not a bare sending out of *Ministers* (as Master *Cotton* gives the instance :) For by his argument, all *rulers*, *kings*, and *Emperors*, and other *states* of the world ought to embrue their hands in the blood of the many *thousands* and *millions* of the poor people, if they forsake not their *idolatry* and embrace the *religion* which they say is *Christian* and the only true.

Peace. No, saith Master *Cotton*, this ought not to

be, because only *godly* and truly *Christian Magistrates* may so put forth this power of *Christ*; others must stay until they be informed.

Truth. Can it enter into any *Christian* heart, to believe, that *Christ Jesus* should so loosely provide for his *affaires*, so slightly for his *name* and *Fathers work* ^{*A foule imputation put upon*} and so regardlessly for his dearest *Spouse*, as to leave so ^{*Christ Jesus.*} high a *care* and *charge* with such as (generally and constantly throughout the *whole world*) are ignorant of, yea and opposite to the very name of *Christ* and true *Christianity*?

Peace. Surely if this *payment* were offered to the *governour* (as *Malachy* saith¹) to the *world*, or *governments* of it, it would not pass.

Truth. I never knew a *king* or *captaine* *councillor* or *constable*, officers of high or low condition, rightly called according to to *God*, who were not invested with *ability* more or less for the *maine* and *principal* points of their charge and duty.

Peace. It seemes indeed a marvelous, and yet it is *Master Cottons*) *conclusion*, that such *Magistrates*, yea all or most of the *Magistrates* that ever have been since *Christ*, and now extant [101] upon the face of the earth, must sit down, stay and suspend, and that all their life long, from the executing of the maine and principal part of their *office*, to wit, in *matters* concerning the *conscience*, *religion*, and *worship*, of the people.

Truth. Yea (Secondly) in a due survey of the whole *universe* and *globe* of this world, will one of a thou-

¹ Offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts. *Mala-chi*, i. 8.

sand or ten thousand (according to Master Cottons disabling of them from the chief part of their *office*) be found, I will not say fit to be, but to be at all lawful *civil Magistrates* or *rulers* according to Gods ordinance of *Magistracy* but meer *shadows* or *images* set on high with empty *names* or *titles* only of *Magistrates*?

Peace Master Cotton adds, Although the good of souls is the proper or adequate object of the *spiritual officers* of *Christ*, and the *bodies* and *goods* of the people, the proper or adequate *object* of the *civil Magistrate*; yet in order to the good of their *souls*, he ought to procure *spiritual helpes*, and to prevent *spiritual evils*.

Pretended
order, mon-
strous dis-
order.

Truth. I reply, If he mean (as it is clear he doth) that the *civil Magistrate* ought to do this not only as a *Christian* by *spiritual meanes*, but as a *civil Magistrate* by force of *armes*, It is not in order, but monstrous *disorder*, for then he (the *civil Magistrate*) must sit *Judge* (judicially and formally) in those *spiritual causes* and *cases*, which Master Cotton grants are proper and adequate *objects* of the *spiritual officers* which *Christ* hath appointed.

Peace. Yea, why may not (saith Master Cotton) the *Magistrate* use his power (spiritually) in order to the good of *bodies*, as the *officers of Christ* dehort from *idleness* and *intemperance* of meats and drinks &c. in order to the good of *souls*?

Truth. The *spiritual officers* in dehorting from these *evils* or any other of that kind, interfere not, nor take cognizance of that which belongs not to their *spiritual court*; for *holiness* in all manner of

conversation is the *circle* wherein they ought to see all their *spiritual subjects* to walk. If the *spiritual officers* should cause by force of *armes* their people to walk justly, temperately, &c. as Master Cotton saith the *civil Magistrate* in order to the good of *bodies* ought to deal in *spiritual* and *soul-matters*, I say then the *eyes* of the *civil Magistrate* would begin to open [201] [102] and to see the horrible *disorder* and *Babylonish confusion* of that which is here masked under the abused name of *order*.

Peace. Master Cotton closeth up this *chapter* with very bitter censures against the discusser.

Truth. The discusser may well reply, that although since the *apostacy* he sees not the *visible thrones* and *tribunals* of *Christ Jesus* (according to his first *institution*) erected, and although the *civil Magistrate* hath not the power of *Christ* in *matters of religion*, yet they that slay the *Lords sheep* are not exempted from all judgement: For, if the *offenders* slay them *corporally*, the *Lord* hath armed the *civil Magistrate* with the *sword* of *God* to take vengeance on them. In which respect *God* hath crowned the *supream court* of *Parliament* with everlasting honour, in breaking the jaws of the oppressing *Bishops*, &c. Oh that such glorious *Justice* may not be blemished, by erecting in their stead a more *refined*, but yet as cruel an *Episcopacy*.¹

2. If the offence be of a *spiritual nature*, is there

¹ The Parliament abolished the hierarchy by two ordinances dated October 9 and November 16, 1646. The very name of Bishop was abolished. Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, ii. 35, 36. There is

a repetition of this idea on page 108 *infra*, where the reference to the Presbyterians and Independents as seeking the power of the prelates is more definite.

no *spiritual way* of judging, except the *church* of *Christ* be granted *visible* during *Antichrists Apostacy*? Hath not *Christ Jesus* given *power* to his two prophets (even all the *Raigne* of the *Beast*) to speak *fire, Revelations* the 11. to shut up *heaven*, to turn the *waters* into *blood*, to smite the *earth* with all manner of *plagues*, and this untill the time of the finishing of their *prophecie* or *Testimony*, when their great *slaughters* shall prepare the way for the downfall of *Antichrist* and their own most glorious *raising* and *exaltation*?

There was no Chapter 34 (which probably was Master Cottons oversight, or the Printers) therefore I pass to Chapter 35.

103] *Examination of* CHAP. XXXV.

Peace.

HERE, whereas it was said, if it were the *Magistrates* duty or office to punish *hereticks &c.* then he is both a *temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers*: Master Cotton answers, It follows not: except the *Magistrate* were to punish with *Ecclesiastical* censures, his punishment is meerly *civil*, whether *imprisonment*, *banishment*, or *death*.

Truth. I reply, first, the *statutes* of the *English nation*, and the *oath* of *supremacy*, have proved the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* heads and *governors* of

the church of England:¹ And if to be an *head* or gov-
ernor be not an *office*, let Master Cotton be againe
requested to ponder the *instance* given, which he
passeth by in silence; deny it ingenuously he cannot,
and to justifie it I hope his *light* from *heaven* will not
suffer him, although yet he would faine excuse it, by
saying, they punish only with *civil punishment*, im-
prisonment, banishment or death. Therefore,

The title
head of the
church.

2. Here lies the *mystery* of *iniquity*, and the *Babel*
and *confusion* of it, that either according to *Popish*
Tenents the *kings* of the earth must give their power
to the *beast*, and enslave themselves under the name
and vizard of the *secular power* to be the Popes *exe-*
cutioners, or according to *Protestant Tenents*, to wit,
that *Kings* and *Governours* be *heads* of the *church*
and yet be furnished with no *Church-power* nor
spirituall censures.

Peace. It would be thought some *mystical* and
monstrous thing, that *Kings* and *Governors* should be
obliged to act in *civil Judicature*, and yet be fur-
nished with no *civil power*, but ought to punish onely
with *spirituall* or *Church-censures*.

Truth. The blinde and the lame mans robbing
the Orchard is here verified. The Minister (though
a blinde guide) he is the seer, but wanting legs and
strength of civil power, he is carried upon the civil
Magistrates shoulders, whose blindness the subtle
Clergy abuseth, &c. but both together, rob the
Orchard of the most high and sure-avenging God.

¹ "Be it enacted by authority of this
present Parliament, that the King our
Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors,
Kings of this realm, shall be taken, ac-

cepted and reputed the only Supreme
Head in earth of the Church of Eng-
land, &c." Act of Supremacy, given by
Froude, *Hist. of England*, ii. 324.

104] *Truth.* I conceive it true, that the *Kings* and *Governors* of the *national church* of *Israel* had a *national power*; and had the *Kord Jesus* been pleased to have continued *national churches*, the *Lings* and *governors* of such *states* might well (as they of *Israel* were) have been both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical officers*.

*The civil
Magistrate
no spiritual
officer, now
as in Israel*

Peace. But now the *Lord Jesus* abolishing that *national state*, and instituting and appointing his *worshippers* and *followers* to be the *Israel of God*, the *holy nation* and proper *Antitype* of the former *Israel*; it seems most *unchristian*, that either the *work* or the *title* should remaine, whether with open or a masked face or vizard.

Truth. Therefore as it pleased *God* in wonderful *wisdome* and inconceivable depths of counsell for a while to continue a *national church*, *national covenant* &c. and to take them away as insufficient, beggarly, and weak, either for the further advancement of his own *glory*, or *salvation* of men: so hath he taken away the *administration* thereof by *carnal weapons*, *armes of flesh* &c. Instead of *fire* and *sword*, and *stoning* the *opposit;es* in stead of *imprisonment*, *banishment*, *death*, he hath appointed *exhortations*, *reprehensions*, *denunciations*, *excommunications*, and together with *preaching*, *patient waiting*, if *God* peradventure will give *repentance*.

Lastly, If the *civil Magistrate* must imprison and banish, and put to death in *spiritual cases*; and the *civil Magistrate*, is but a *Minister* or servant of the people (and so of *God*) and if the people make the *laws*, and give the *Magistrate* his *commission* and

*The peo-
ples power.*

power; doth it not follow by this *doctrine*, that the people of the *nations* of the *world* are *fundamentally* and *originally* both *Temporal* and *Ecclesiastical*? And then what is become of the *foundations* of the *Christian faith*? And also are not hereby the *people* and *nations* of the *world* (whatever care be had to the contrary to restraine) encouraged, according to their several *consciences*, I say encouraged and hardened in their bloody *wars*, *imprisonings*, *banishings*, and putting to death for cause of *conscience*?

Peace. Whereas it was said to be *Babel* or *confusion*, for the *church* to punish the offences of such as are not within its *jurisdiction* with *spiritual censures*, or the *civil state*, *spiritual offences* [105] with *corporal* or *temporal weapons*, Master Cotton answers, No *confusion*, for so *Paul* directs the *church* of *Corinth*.

Truth. That very *Parenthesis* which Master Cotton stumbleth at, takes away his answer.¹ For as it would be confusion for the *church* to censure such *matters*, and of such persons as belong not to the *church*: So is it *confusion* for the *state* to punish *spiritual offenders*, for they are not within the *sphear* of a *civil jurisdiction*. The *body* or *Commonweal* is meerly *civil*, the *Magistrate* or *head* is a *civil head*, and each *member* is a *civil member*: and so far forth as any of this *civil body* are *spiritual*, or act *spiritually*, they and their actions fall under a *spiritual cognizance* and *judicature*.

¹ “Why the Discusser putteth in that parenthesis (the offender not being a member of it:) I cannot tell: sure I am, it is nothing to the purpose. For as the Church cannot punish any offender, unless he be a member of the Church, so

neither may the Civil Magistrate punish an Heretick or other Spiritual offender, unless he be a member of his Commonwealth.” Cotton, *Bloody Tenent Washed*, p. 70.

All Commonwealths that ever have been, are or shall be in the World (excepting that of typical Israel) meerly civil.

Peace. The *reason* (saith Master Cotton) is the same, for there be offences which tend to provoke *wrath* against the *civil state*, *Ezra* 7. [23] Why should there be *wrath* against the *king* or his *sons*?

The Decrees of Pagan kings for Israel, and the God of it, considered.

Truth. This reason indeed Master Cotton often inculcates and beates upon it, that the *Pagan kings* of *Persia* were of his mind: I believe Master Cotton out of a *zeal* to *God*, but the *Pagan kings* out of a slavish *terror*, which never prevailed so far (that I know of) as to bring them to a kindly *repentance* of their own *idolatries*, or a true *love* to the *God* of *Israel* or his *people*.

Peace. However your former answer is to me *sufficient*; to wit, that thousands of famous *Townes*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* have flourished in *peace* and *tranquillity* for many ages and generations, where *God* hath had no house, and not only where it was by the *civil state* neglected, but also wholly persecuted.

Truth. In the time appointed and full *ripeness* of their *sins*, the *vengeance* of *God* (after *patience* many *generations* abused) hath surely and fearefully visited, yet in the *interim*, it is clear it is no ground of a necessity of present punishing of false *worshippers* and *idolaters*, least present *wrath* fall upon the *King* or his *Son*.

The Ministers lay heavy loads upon the Magistrates back.

Peace. Now whereas it was said [to be] an intollerable *burthen* laid upon the *Magistrates* back, together with the care of the *Commonweal* to be charged also with the *spiritual*, &c. Master Cotton answers, 1. That the *Magistrate* ought to seek out meanes [106] of *grace* for the people. 2. To remove *idolatry* and *idolatrous Teachers*. 3. It is commonly added, that he ought to preserve the *church* pure by *reformation*.

Truth. I reply, This *work* charged upon the *kings*, *governors*, and *Magistrates* in the *world*, makes the weight of their *care* and charge far greater, then ever was the charge of the *kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, For their people were miraculously brought into covenant with *God*, to their hands, like a *bridge*, or *house*, or *ship* ready built; and needed only keeping up in *reparation*: yea an heavier *yoak* then either their or our *fathers* were able to bear, considering all the several different *consciences*, *religions*, and *worships* of all mankind naturally, and the many different *opinions*, *factions*, and *sects*, which daily do arise, and that conscientiously and zealously unto death: All these must by *Master Cottons doctrine*) lie before the *bar*, beside all *civil cases*, &c.

Peace. Tis memorable that *Paul* himself, that had the care of all the *churches*, would not be intangled with *civil affaires*, further then his own *necessities* did call for, and sometimes the *necessities* of his *companions*: but this *yoak* put upon the necks of *Magistrates*, is as full of temporal as spiritual care: And as it is impossible for them to bear, So the *Lord* in his holy *season*, may please to teach them (as he hath taught some already through his grace) to lay that spiritual Burthen upon the *shoulders* of their only King of *Saints Christ Jesus*, to whom the *supream power* and care of *souls* and *churches* doth alone belong.

Whereas it was further said, that the *Magistrate* is to cherish, and to cleave unto the *Saints*, and to defend them from *civil violence*, but the *spiritual* care of them belongs to *spiritual officers* appointed by *Christ Jesus* to that end, *Master Cotton* replies, this

is but a pretence, because the discusser acknowledgeth no *churches* extant, &c.¹

Truth. Although amongst so many pretending *churches*, the discusser be not able to satisfy himself in the rightly gathering of the Churches, according to the true *order* of *Christ Jesus*, yet this is far from a pretence, because the *institution* of any *state government, order, &c.* is one thing, and the *administration* 107] and *execution*, which may be interrupted and eclipsed, is another.

Peace. Indeed *Ieremy* could not rightly have been judged a pretender, when he mourned for, and lamented the *desolations* of the *temple, priests, elders, altar, sacrifice, &c.* and neither he nor *Daniel*, nor any of *Gods prophets* or *servants*, could (during the time of the *desolation* and *captivity*) acknowledge either *temple, or altar, or sacrifice* right, extant upon the face of the *earth*.

A time when no visible Church of God in the world for the right forme and order, &c.

Truth. He that saith the *Sun (Christ Jesus)* is not to be seen in our *Horizon* or *Hemisphere*, in his absence, or when he suffers an *Eclipse*, cannot be said to deny that the *Lord Jesus* his holy ordinances ought to be *visible* in the *worship* and *service* of *God*: Although the discusser be not satisfied in the *period* of the *times*, and the manner of his glorious appearing, yet his *soul* uprightly desires to see and adore,

¹ “In the poor small space of my life, I desired to have been a diligent and constant observer, and have been myself many ways engaged, in city, in country, in court, in schools, in universities, in churches, in Old and New England: and yet cannot, in the holy presence of God, bring in the result of a satisfying

discovery, that either the begetting ministry of the apostles or messengers to the churches, or the feeding and nourishing ministry of pastors and teachers, according to the first institution of the Lord Jesus, are yet restored and extant.” *Hireling Ministry*, p. 4.

and to be thankful to Master Cotton, yea to the least of the *disciples* of *Christ Jesus*, for any coal or sparke of true *light*, amongst so many false and pretended *candles* and *candlesticks*, pretending the glorious name of the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

Peace. Next, Master Cotton demands what *reason* can be given, why the *Magistrate* ought to break the teeth of *lyons* (ought to suppress such as offer *civil violence*) and not of the *Wolves*, that make havock of their *souls*, who are more mischievous then the *lyon*, as the *Pope* of *Rome*, then the *Pagan Emperors*? He wonders the discussor should favor the *Pope* more then the *Emperour*, except it be that he symbolizeth rather with *Antichrist* then with *Cæsar*.

Truth. It may here suffice to say two things (not to repeat other *passages*.)

First, The *civil state* and *Magistrate* are meerly and *essentially civil*; and therefore cannot reach (without the transgressing the bounds of *civility*) to judge in matters *spiritual*, which are of another *sphere* and *nature* then *civility* is: Now it is most just and proper, that if any member of a *civil body* be oppressed, the *body* should relieve it: As also it is just and proper, that the *spirituall state* or *body* should relieve the soul of any in that *spiritual combination* oppressed.

108] Therefore (Secondly) for *spiritual* and *religious* oppressions, the *king of kings Christ Iesus* hath sufficient providedly in his *spiritual kingdome*: therefore (*Acts* ^{*The wolves at Ephesus,*} 20 [29]) *Paul* gives the charge against those *spirit-* ^{*Act. 20.*} *ual Wolves* to the *elders* of the *church* at *Ephesus*, and not to *civil Magistrates* of the *city*, which *Paul* should

have done (notwithstanding they were *worshippers* of *Diana*) if it had been *their* duty to have broke the *teeth* of those spirituall *Wolves* &c.

Peace. It is (indeed) one thing to prohibite the *The duty of Pope, the prelates, the Presbyterians, the Independents,* or any from forcing any in the matters of their *civil power in matters of Religion* respective *consciences*, and accordingly to take the *sword* from such mens hands, or (as their executioners) to refuse to use it for them: It is another thing to leave them freely to their own *consciences*, to defend themselves as well as they can, by the two-edged sword of the *spirit*, which is the *word* of *God*, which all the several sorts of *pretenders* say they have received from *Iesus Christ*.

Truth. The renowned *Parliament* of *England* hath justly deserved a *crown* of *honour* to all *posterity*, for breaking the *teeth* of the *oppressing Bishops* and their *The changing of per-secutors is one thing, the abolishing of per-secution another.* a few *prelates*, and to suffer it (willingly) to be wrung out of their own hands, by many thousand *Presbyterians*, or *Independants*, what is it but to change one *wolfe* or *lyon* for another, or in stead of *one*, to let loose the *Dens* of thousands?

Peace. But why should Master *Cotton* insinuate the *discusser* to glance a more obsequious eye upon the *Pope*, then upon the *Emperor*?

Truth. I fear Master *Cotton* would create some evil opinion in the *heart* of the *civil Magistrate*, that the *discusser* is (as the *bloody Iews* told *Pilate*) no friend to *Cæsar*: whereas upon a due search it will be found clear as the light, that it is impossible that *The persecuting Clergy no cordial friends to* any that subscribe *ex animo* to the bloody Tenent of

persecution, can (*ex animo*) be a friend to *Magistracy*. ^{Magistra-}
 The reason is, all *persecutors*, whether *priests* or *people*,
 care onely for such *Magistrates* as suite the *end*, the
 great bloody *end* of *persecution*, of whom they either
 hope to borrow the *sword*, or whom they hope to
 make their *executioners*. Their very principles also
 (*Papist* [109] and *Protestant*) lead them necessarily
 to dispose [depose] and kill their *heretical*, *Apostate*,
blaspheming Magistrates.

Peace. But why should Master *Cotton* insinuate any
 affection in the discusser to that *Tyrant* of all earthly
Tyrants, the *Pope*?

Truth. To my knowledge Master *Cotton* and others
 have thought the discusser too zealous against the
 bloody *beast*: yea, and who knows not this to be the
 ground of so much sorrowful *difference* between
 Master *Cotton* and the discusser, to wit, that the dis-
 cusser grounds his separation from their *churches* upon
 their not seperating from that man of sin? For Old
England having compelled all to *church*, compel'd
 the *Papists* and the *Pope* himself in them: The
 daughter *New England*, separating from her *mother*
 in *Old England*, yet maintaines and practises com-
 munion with the *Parishes* in *Old*. Who sees not
 then, but by the *links* of this *mystical chaine*, *New*
England Churches are still fastned to the *Pope* himself?

Peace. Master *Cottons* third *reply* is this, that it is
 not like that such *Christians* will be faithful to their
prince, who grow false and disloyal to their *God*, and
 therefore consequently the *civil Magistrate* must see
 that the *church degenerate* and apostate not, at least
 so far as to provoke *Christ* to depart from them.

Neither
 Old nor
 New Eng-
 land state-
 churches
 separate
 from the
 Pope.

Master
 Cotton and
 Bellarmine
 all one, for
 the deposing
 heretical
 princes,
 &c.

Truth. This is indeed the down right most bloody and *Popish Tenent* of persecuting the degenerate, heretical and *Apostate* people: of deposing, yea and killing *Apostatical* and *heretical princees* and rulers.

*The gods
of this
World.*

The truth is, the great *Gods* of this world are *God-belly, God-peace, God-wealth, God-honour, God-pleasure* &c. These *Gods* must not be blasphemed, that is, evil spoke of, no not provoked, &c. The servants of the living *God* being true to their *Lord* and *Master*, have opposed his *glory, greatness, honour* &c. to these *Gods*, and to such *religions, worshipps, and services*, as commonly are made but as a *mask* or *vaile*, or covering of these *Gods*.

Peace. I have long been satisfied, that hence proceeds the *mad cry* of every *Demetrius* and *crafts-Master* of false *worship* in the *world*, *Great* is our *Diana* &c. These men blaspheme our *goddeses*, disturb our *City*, They are false to our *Gods*, how will they be true to us?

*The Lord
Cobham his
troubles in
Henry the
5. dayes.*

1110] Hence that bloody Act of Parliament in *Henry* the fifth his dayes made purposely against that true *servant* and *witnes* of *God* (in those points of *Christianity* which he knew) and other servants of *God* with him, the *Lord Cobham*, concluding *Lollardy* not only to be *heresie*, (that is, indeed true *Christianity*) but also *treason* against the *Kings person*: whence it followed, that these poor *Lollards* (the servants of the most *high God*) were not only to be burnt as *hereticks*, but hanged as *traitors*.¹

*The best of
our late
Bishops, as
Bishop Hall
have not
spared to
render*

¹ Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was accused of heresy in the first year of the reign of Henry V., 1413. A synod was called by Arundel, Archbishop of

Canterbury, "to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospel, and especially to withstand this noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be

Truth. Accordingly it pleased God to honour that noble Lord Cobham both with hanging and burning, as an *heretick* against the church, as a *traitor* against the king: And hence those divelish accusations and bloody huntings of the poor servants of God in the reign of Francis the second in Paris, because it was said, that their meetings were to consult and act against the life of the king.

Peace. If this be the *touchstone* of all obedience, will it not be the *cut-throat* of all civil relations, unions and covenants between Princes and people, and between the people and people? For may not Master Cotton also say, he will not be a faithful servant, nor she a faithful wife, nor he a faithful husband, who grow false and disloyal to their God? And indeed what doth this, yea, what hath this truly-ranting doctrine (that plucks up all relations) wrought but confusion and combustion all the world over?

Truth. Concerning *faithfulness*, it is most true, that *godliness* is profitable for all things, all estates, all relations: yet there is a *civil faithfulness*, *obedience*, *honesty*, *chastity*, &c. even amongst such as own not

a principal Favourer, Receiver and Maintainer of them whom the Bishop misnamed to be Lollards," and he was excommunicated. He had been a favorite of the king, and appealed to him, but without success, for he was sent to the Tower. He escaped, and fled into Wales, where he concealed himself for four years. He was finally captured, taken to London and executed in a most barbarous manner. Gilpin, *Lives*, &c., ii. 105-153. The act referred to is given in full by Fox, who goes at length into an account of Lord Cobham's views,

and argues fully the point made by Williams, that the Lollards were condemned for treason as well as heresy. *Acts and Monuments*, i. 635-668.

¹ Bishop Hall distinguishes between mere and mixed heresy. "The latter of them hath no reason to be exempted from bodily punishments; no, not from the utmost of all pains, death itself. If it be attended with schism, perturbances, seditions, malicious practices, it tends to setting whole kingdoms on fire; and therefore may be well worthy of a fagot." *Works*, vii. 95.

Civil honestly may stand with dishonestly against God and Christ in matters of Religion.

God nor Christ: else *Abraham* and *Isaac* dealt foolishly to make leagues with ungodly *Princes*. Besides, the whole Scripture commands a continuance in all *Relations* of government, marriage, service, notwithstanding that the grace of Christ had appeared to some, and the rest (it may be an *husband*, a *wife*, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *servant*) were false and disloyal in their several kinds and wayes unto God, or wholly ignorant of him.

4. Grant people and *Princes* to be like *Iulian*, *Apostate* from the true service of God, and consequently to grow less faithful in their places and respective services, yet what ground is there, from the Testament of Christ Jesus, upon this ground of their *Apostacie*, [111] to prosecute them, as Master Cotton saith, The civil *Magistrate* must keep the church from *Apostatizing* so, as to cause Christ to depart from them.

5. Can the sword of steel or arme of flesh make men faithful or loyal to God? Or careth God for the outward Loyalty or Faithfulness, when the inward-man is false and treacherous?

Or is there not more danger (in all matters of trust in this world) from an *hyocrite*, a *dissembler*, a *turncoat* in his religion (from the fear or favour of men) then from a resolved Jew, Turke or Papist, who holds firme unto his principles? &c.

Or lastly, if one *Magistrate*, King or Parliament call this or that *heresie*, *apostacie*, &c. and make men say so will not a stronger *Magistrate*, King, Parliament, Army (that is, a stronger arm, or longer and more prosperous sword) call that *heresie* and *Apostacie*

Truth and Christianity, and make men call it so? *Hereſie and apoſtaſie often change their names to truth, and Chriſtianity, &c.* and do not all experiences, and our own moſt lamentable, in the changes of our *Engliſh Religions*, confirme this?

6. Laſtly, As carnal policy ever falls into the pit, it digs and trips up its own heels, ſo I ſhall end this *paſſage* with two *paradoxes*, and yet (dear peace) thou and I have found them moſt lamentably true in all ages.

Peace. God delights to befool the *wiſe* and *high* in their own *conceit* with *paradoxes*, even ſuch as the wiſdome of this world thinks *madneſs*: but I attend to hear them.

Truth. Firſt then, The ſtraining of mens *conſciences* *Who knows not that the many turnings of Do. Pearne in Cambridge brought it into a proverb, to wit, to perniſie.*¹ by *civil power*, is ſo far from making men faithful to God or man, that it is the ready way to render a man falſe to both: my ground is this: *civil* and *corporal* *puniſhment* do uſually cauſe men to play the *hypocrite*, and diſſemble in their *Religion*, to turn and return with the tide, as all *experience* in the *nations* of the *world* doth teſtifie now.

This *binding* and *rebinding* of *conſcience*, contrary or without its own *perſwaſion*, ſo weakens and defiles it, that it (as all other *faculties*) loſeth its ſtrength, and the very nature of a common honeſt *conſcience*:

¹ Andrew Perne (1519–1586) was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was five times Vice Chancellor of the Univerſity. He went through many changes of religious opinion.

“His mutability in religious matters expoſed him to no little ridicule. The ſcholars in merriment tranſlated perno, I turn, I rat, I change often. It became

proverbial to ſay of a coat or cloak which had been turned that it had been Perned. On the weathercock of S. Peter's church in Cambridge, were the letters A. P. A. P., which it was ſaid might be taken to mean Andrew Perne A Papiſt, or Andrew Perne A Puritan.” *Athenæ Cantabrigienſes*, ii. 48.

Consciences Hence it is, that even our own histories testifie, that
yeelding to where the *civil sword*, and carnal power, hath made
be forced or a change upon the *consciences* of men, those *con-*
ravished, *sciences* have been given up, [112] not only to spirit-
loosen all ual, but even to *corporal filthiness*, and bloody, and
conscience. mad oppressing each other, as in the *Marian* bloody
 times &c.

Peace. Indeed no people [are] so inforced as the
Papists and the *Mahumetans*: and no people more
 filthy in soul and body, and no people in the *world*
 more *bloody* and *persecuting*: but I listen for your
 second *paradox*.

2 Para-
doxes.

Truth. Secondly, This *Tenent* of the *Magistrates*
 keeping the *church* from *Apostatizing*, by practising
civil force upon the *consciences* of men, is so far from
 preserving *Religion* pure, that it is a mighty *Bulwark*
 or *Barricado* to keep out all true *Religion*, yea and
 all godly *Magistrates* for ever coming into the *World*.

Peace. Doubtless this will seem a hard *riddle*, yet
 I presume not too hard for the fingers of *time* and
truth to unty, and render easie.

Truth. Thus I unty it: If the *civil Magistrate*
 must keep the *church* pure, then all the *people* of the
Cities, *Nations*, and *kingdomes* of the *world* must do
 the same much more, for primarily and fundament-
 ally, they are the *civil Magistrate*: Now the world
 (saith *John*) lyeth or is situated in *wickedness*, and
 consequently according to its disposition endures not
 the *light* of *Christ*, nor his golden *candlestick* the true
Church, nor easily chooseth a true *Christian* to be her
officer or *Magistrate*, for she accounts such false to her
Gods and *Religion*, and suspects their faithfulness &c.

Peace. Hence indeed is it (as I now conceive) that so rarely this *world* admitteth or not long continueth a true servant of *God* in any place of *trust* and *credit*, except some extraordinary hand of *God* over-power, or else his servants by some base *staires* of *Flattery* or worldly *compliance*, ascend the chaire of *Civil-power*.

But (to proceed) saith Master *Cotton*, "It was the
"duty of *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* &c. to reduce the
"people of *Israel* from their backslidings because
"they were an holy people, and is it not the duty of
"godly Princes to reduce their backsliding Churches
"to their primitive purity? It is true (saith he) *David*
"and *Solomon* were types of *Christ*, but so were not
"the other Kings of *Israel* [113] and *Judah*, who
"were the one (the kings of *Israel*) all Apostates,
"and the other (the kings of *Judah*) many of them
"Apostates from *Christ*: And Secondly, If they were
"(saith he) all types of *Christ*, yet *Christ* being the
"Antitype, *Christ* hath abolished them all, and so it
"were sacrilege or Antichristian usurpation for any
"king to be set over Christians: Or if they were
"types of *Christ* in respect of their kingly office over
"the Church alone was it typical in *Solomon* to put
"*Joab* a murtherer to death, or *Adonijah* a traitor?
"and so consequently unlawful for Christian Princes
"to put murtherers and traitors to death? Further,
"saith he, What those kings might do in type, *Christ*
"*Jesus* might much more do in his own person,
"as the Antitype: but he put no man to death in
"his own person, and therefore they were not types
"but servants of *Christ*, and patens and examples to

How the kings of Israel and Judah were types and figures of Christ to come. " Christian Magistrates, yea, *Abab*, who should have " put *Benbadad* to death for his blasphemy.

Truth. I understand those *kings of Israel and Judah*, untill their cutting off or excommunicating out of the land of *Canaan*, to be yet visible members of the church of *Israel and Judah*, and as *kings of Israel and Judah* types of *Christ Jesus*, partly in his own person, who did that (being the true *spiritual king of Israel*) which they did or should have done, in that typical *national church* or land of *Israel*, and (2) partly in the officers of his *kingly power and government* of his church which officers and church falling away, untill an absolute cutting off, are the *Antitypes* (in respect of visible government) of those former kings of *Israel and Judah*.

Peace. Can it be imagined that those wicked *Kings Jeroboam, Baasha, Abab &c.* were figures of *Christ Jesus*?

Truth. Master Cotton himself grants *David and Solomon* types of *Christ Jesus*, and yet, how abominable and monstrous some of their practices? we must therefore distinguish between their persons, and sins, and frailties.

The types of the old Testament many and deep. As kings of *Israel* (*Gods Church and people*) doubtless they were the figures of (the *K. of Israel*) *Christ Iesus*: yea it is probable that the land of *Canaan*, with the officers and governors thereof, before *Christ* time, was but a figure of the *spiritual land* or *Christian church*, with the officers, governors, & administrations thereof good [114] and evil: Although the applying of the times and persons each to other requires a more then ordinary guidance of the finger or holy Spirit of God.

Peace. I remember that some of eminent note for *knowledge* and *godlinefs* have not stucc to affirme, that *Cyrus* ^{called} *the Gentile Prince Cyrus* as he was called *Gods* ^{Christ, a} *ser-figure of* ^{Christ.} *vant, anointed, or Christ* (*Isa.* 44) [45: 1.] I say, that he in a respect, as a *restorer* of *Gods* people was a *figure of Christ Iesus*.

Truth. It is not improbable, but that the most holy and only wife (whose works are known unto *himself* from the beginning of the *world*) did by such famous *instruments* of *mercy* to the literal *Iew*, type out *Christ Iesus* and his heavenly *instruments*, *mercy* and *goodness* to the *mystical* and *spiritual*, *Christian Iews*, &c.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVI, and XXXVII.

Peace.

IN these passages Master *Cotton* first questions (having not his copy by him) the truth of some *expressions* printed as his.

Truth. It is at hand for Master *Cotton* or any to see that *copy* which he gave forth and corrected in some places with his own hand, and every word *verbatim* here published.

2. To the *answer* it self, or reproof of the *Lord Iesus* given to his *disciples* for their *bloody* and rash *zeal* desiring fire to come down from heaven, &c. we both agree that *Christs* rebuking of his *disciples* did not hinder the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* from proceeding in a *Church-way* &c. 2. That false *persecution* in a *church-way* is as odious and dreadful a *persecu-*

tien, as any *prosecution* in a *court of civil justice*, as also that this is not the point intended, though it be reckoned up with the rest.

Peace. I marvel at that which follows, where Master *Cotton* saith that it never fell from his pen in any writing of his, *viz.* that it is lawful for a *civil Magistrate* to inflict *corporal punishment* upon such as are contrary indeed in *matters of Religion*: and therefore he passeth by the *discussers reasons* as which might well have been spared, being brought but against a *shadow* of his own *fancy*.

115] *Truth.* I am not able to imagine what Master *Cotton* means by such as are *contrary minded*, against whom he will not (in this Chapter) maintaine any *corporal punishment* to be inflicted, when in so many of his *writings* and throughout his whole *book* he maintaines *corporal punishment*, and that to death it self in many cases, against the *idolatrous*, the *blasphemous*, the *heretical*, the seducing, yea the *degenerate* and *Apostate*.

*The fire
from heav-
en, Rev.
13. [13.]*

Peace. Love bids us take this passage as a pang of *reluctancy* (in his otherwise-holy and peaceable breast) against such unholy *bloody Tenents*.

But what say you to the passage about the *second beast*, bringing *fire* from *heaven*? (*Rev.* 13.) This was no wonder (saith Master *Cotton*) for *Constantine* had done the like before to *hereticks*, the *Arrian Bishops* against the *Orthodox Saints*. Also, it is related as a different matter from the former (*vers.* 15.) that he had power to cause, that as many as would not worship the *image* of the *beast* should be killed. And this fire comes not down upon the *Saints*, but the *earth*.

Truth. Master Cotton I think knows that the discusser is not alone in this *interpretation*: If he propose any other more suitable to *Christ Iesus*, I hope the discusser desires thankfully to embrace it. But this *fire* being not *literal*, but *mystical*, in imitation of the true prophet *Elijah*, and also as the true *witnesses* cause *fiery judgements* [to] descend from *heaven* upon the *enemies* of the *truth*: so the false *witnesses* cause *fire* to descend against the *faithful*: and sure it is (as the discusser related) that the *Popish Bishops* in *France*, and *England* and other places have ever constantly cryed out, that the *just judgements* of *God* are brought down by them upon the *hereticks*, which is no small wonder that the *hearts* of the *sons of men* should be so hardened against the *light of truth* in *truths witnesses*, notwithstanding the acts of *Constantine* and the *Arrian Bishops* long before.

Peace. But this *fire* (saith Master Cotton) comes down from *heaven* upon the *earth*.

Truth. True, but it may well imply no more, then in the open view and *face* of all men in this world.

Peace. And lastly (saith he) it is said, that he causeth that as [116] many as would not worship the *Image* of the *Beast* should be killed, which is a different effect.

Truth. Because it comes from a different *cause*, with respect, not to the first *Beast* himself, but only to his *picture* or *image*, and implies, that *fiery judgements* descend not onely upon such as refuse to worship the *first* or *second beast*, but the very picture of the *beast* likewise.

Examination of CHAP. XXXVIII.*Peace.*

MAfter *Cotton* here first observing the discussers agreement with him, that this instruction (2 *Tim.* 2. [24. 25.]) to be meek and patient to all men, is properly directive to the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, he concludes that therefore hitherto his answer was not perplext and ravelled.

Truth. Many plaine threads may be drawn forth of a perplext and ravelled string, as it seemes to me the many *particulars* of *different natures* here wrapt up together were.

Peace. Yea, but he seems to disown those words [*unconverted Christians in Crete*] and more then once in the *Chapter* toucheth the discussers credit, &c.

Truth. I know the discussers desires unfainedly (with the *Lords assistance*) rather to die a thousand deaths, then willingly to impeach the least of *holy* or *civil truths*; and therefore affirmeth in this case, that at his pleasure the copy (not which he received from Master *Cotton* for there never passed such writings between them as Master *Cotton* often affirmeth, but) which he received from another, with the correction of Master *Cottons* own hand to it, shall be ready for himself or any to view.

*All truth,
heavenly,
moral, civil
&c. pre-
cious.*

Peace. However, Master *Cotton* maintaining the tearms of *unconverted converts* from *Ier.* 3. 10. (*Iudab* turned unto me, but not with all her heart, but fainedly :) so *Iudas*, *Ananias*, and *Sapphira*, *Balaam*, the *Nicolaitans*, *Iezabel* in *Thyatira*, as also the children

of believing *parents* born in the *Church*, who though holy, yet cannot be conceived to be truly holy.

Truth. Were the *question* about *hypocrites*, *counterfeits* and [117] *trayters* in the *church* and *kingdome* of *Christ*, these words might here rightly be alleadged; but Master *Cottons* words being these [*unconverted* *Christians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* as an *Evangelist* was to seek and to convert] I conceive that Master *Cotton* will not affirm that the office of an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert the *church* (though possibly an *hypocrite* may be turned from his *hypocrisie* by an *Evangelist* or private man in the *church*.)

2. He makes in the very words a *distinction* between these *unconverted Christians*, and those *Jews* and *Gentiles* in the *Church*, who (saith he) though *carnal*, yet were not convinced of the *error* of their *way*.

And to conclude this Chapter, the discusser readily with thanks acknowledgeth Master *Cottons* words, that it is not probable that *Timothy* was now at *Ephesus*, and that the *subscription* added to the second Epistle of *Timothy* in the *English translation*, is justly to be suspected.¹

¹ Cotton adduces the argument that Timothy could not have been at Ephesus or St. Paul would not have written as he did, 2 *Tim.* 4: 12, "And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, p. 80. To this Williams assents. But this argument is not decisive. Bishop Ellicott thinks that the arguments on one side and the other "render it slightly more probable that at the time when the Second Epistle was written, Timothy was conceived by the

Apostle to be at the scene of his appointed labors, and as either actually at Ephesus or visiting some of the dependent churches in its immediate neighborhood." *Pastoral Epistles*, 119, Cf. Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 474, note. The subscription to this Epistle in the English version says nothing about the direction of the letter, and is not open to suspicion on that or any other account, though of course it is no part of the original Epistle.

Examination of CHAP. XXXIX.*Peace.*

Many excellent Magistrates of the Parliament, of the Council, of the Army, of the City, of the Country, are also excellent **M**After *Cotton* here argues, That if the *Magistrate* be a *Prophet*, and opposed in his *doctrine*, he ought (from this Scripture, 2 *Tim.* 2. | 25. |) meekly to bear the *opposition*, waiting if *God* peradventure will give *repentance*; yet withal by the way he observeth, that if the *Magistrate* be a *prophet*, he may do some things as a *Magistrate*, which he may not do as a *Prophet*.

prophets or interpreters of Scripture, & yet *Truth.* Of this no *question*? but what is this to a coercive *Magisterial power* in *spiritual* things, which is the *question*?

may not use a civil but a spiritual sword in spirituals. Magistrates may be prophets in Christs Church. 2. Since that *Master Cotton* acknowledgeth that *Magistrates* may be *prophets*, and that divers *Magistrates* of *New English churches* have spoken as *prophets* (eminently able in their *churches*) what should be the reason (I ask by the way) that their *Churches* hear no more of such their *propheticall* gifts, but that their *talent's* wrapt up? &c.¹

¹ The exercise of prophesying as it was called, grounded on the practice of the primitive church as described in 1 Cor. xii., xiv., in which laymen taught and exhorted in public worship, was early practised in New England, and seems to have been sustained by Cotton. Winthrop states that when Mr. Wilson, pastor of the church in Boston was about to embark for England in 1631, he met his congregation and "commended to them the exercise of prophecy in his absence, and designed those whom he thought most fit for it, viz. the Governour, Mr.

Dudley, and Mr. Nowell the elder." *New England*, i. 60. In October, 1632, Gov. Winthrop and Mr. Wilson visited Plymouth. "On the Lord's day there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the Pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after the governour of Plimouth spake to the question; after him the elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governour of

118] *Peace*. Of this let their *conscienc*es give account to *Jes*us *Chr*ist, whom they call the *King* of their *church*es, and the *fountain*e of such heavenly *abilities*: But to proceed, Master *Cotton* grants that *Magistrates* ought to bear in the *church* *oppositions* against their *prophecys*, but not *continued* *opposings*, nor *seduings* &c.

Truth. What is then the waiting here commanded, until *God* peradventure will give *repentance*?

Peace. It is true (saith Master *Cotton*) it is not in the power of *man* to give *repentance*, but *God* alone: Neither is it in mans power (saith he) to give *repentance* to *scandalous* persons against the *civil* *state*; and yet the discusser acknowledgeth that the *civil* *Magistrate* ought to punish these.

Truth. It is not the *Magistrates* work and office in the *civil* *state*, to convert the *heart* in true *repentance* unto *God* and *Chr*ist: The *civil* *state* respecteth conformity and obedience to *civil* *laws*, though indeed the works and office of the *Ministers* of *Chr*ist *Jes*us are commonly laid upon the *Magistrates* shoulders, and they pretending themselves the *Ministers* of

More confidence commonly put in the civil sword then the spiritual.

Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did." *Wintrop*, i. 109.

Gov. Bradford in his *Brief Dialogue*, defends it as an ancient practice, and adds: "The chief of our ministers in New England agree therein. See Mr. Cotton's Answer to Baylie, page the 27th, 2d part. "Though neither all" saith he "nor most of the brethren of a church have ordinarily received a gift of public prophesying, or preaching, yet in defect of public ministry, it is not an unheard of novelty that God should en-

large private men with public gifts and [that they who have received such gifts, should take liberty] to dispense them to edification." Young, *Chron. of Pilgrims*, 421; Cotton, *Way of Churches cleared*, 27.

Lechford, however, writing in 1641, says: "It is generally held in the Bay by some of the most grave and learned men amongst them, that none should undertake to prophesie in publike, unlesse he intend the worke of the Ministry, &c." *Plain Dealing*, 16.

Christ Jesus, armed with the two-edged sword of the *Spirit of God* (the *Word of God*) do commonly flye unto and put more confidence in the *sword of steel* in the hand of their *civil Ministers*, the *Magistrates*.

*Engl.
changes in
Religion
excused by
those of
Judah, but
not justly.*

Peace. The *sword of steel* hath done *wonderful* things throughout the whole *world* in *matters of Religion*, and *woful* and *wonderful* (as was formerly observed) hath *Religious changes* been the *English nation*, and that by the power of the *civil sword*, backward and forward, and that in the space of a few yeers, in the *reigne* of four or five *Princes*: But this (saith Master *Cotton*) is no more then befell the *church of Iudah* in the dayes of *Abaz*, *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, and *Iosiah*.

Truth *Englands* changes will be found upon examination incomparably *greater*, and wrought in the eighth part of the time that the *changes* of the *church of Iudah* were. And yet this *instance* will not infringe that the *civil sword* of the *Magistrate*, in a *national way*, is ordinarily able to turn about a *Nation* to and againe, to and from a *truth of God*, in *national hypocrisie*, and [119] therefore most wisely hath the most holy and only wise, by the most glorious brightness of his *person* and *wisdom* of the *Father* (*Christ Jesus*) abolished his own *national* and *state-church*, whether *explicit* or *implicit*, that the two-edged sword of the *word of the Lord* in the mouths of his true *messengers*, might alone be brandished and magnified.

Peace. Master *Cotton* concludeth this Chapter with the observation, that the *revolt of England* againe to *Poperie* wanteth *Scripture-light*.

Truth. He that loves *Christ Iesus* in sincerity, cannot but long, that *Christ Iesus* would speedily be pleased with the breath of his mouth to consume that man of sin: But yet that worthy servant of God (according to his *conscience*) Master *Archer*, doth not barely propose his *opinion*, but also his *Scripture-grounds*, which I believe, compared with all former *experiences*, will seem to be of great and weighty *consideration*, and call all that wait for *Christ Iesus* to beg his *Spirit* deeply to weigh and ponder them.¹

*Whether
England
may not
receive the
Pope
again.*

Examination of CHAP. XL.

Peace.

TO the severall *allegations* concerning the woful slavery of all *opposites* of *Christ Iesus*, and the mighty power of *free grace*, only able to release them; Master *Cotton* replies, So is it with *scandalous* offenders against the *Civil state*, and yet this doth not restraine *Magistrates* from executing just *judgements* upon them &c. And he adds, that better a *dead soul* in a *dead body*, and that *seducers* die without *faith*, then *murther* and *seduce* many *precious souls* from the *faith*.

¹ Henry Archer was a non-conformist preacher in London, who fled to Holland and became pastor of the English Church in Arnheim. He was a Millenarian, and wrote a work entitled, "The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth. In a Treatise wherein is fully and largely laid open and proved, that Jesus Christ,

together with his Saints, shall visibly possess a Monarchicall State and Kingdom in the World. 1642." Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 455. Williams expresses the same apprehensions in regard to the Pope's recovering his power in *The Bloody Tenent*, 64. 185. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 137, 326.

Things of God and Cæsar. *Truth.* The Lord Iesus commanding to give God the *things* that be Gods, and to Cæsar the things that be Cæsars, gives all his *followers* a clear and glorious torch of light to distinguish between *offenders* against God in a *spiritual* way, and *offenders* against Cæsar, his *Lawes*, *state* and *government* in a *civil* way.

Religions of the world politick inventions to maintaine a civil state. Tis true, *flatterers* and *time-servers* use to make Religion and [120] *justice*, the two *pillars* of a *State*, and so indeed do all such *states* in the world as maintaine a *state-Religion*, invented and maintained in *civil policy* to maintaine a *civil state*. But all men that have tasted of *history* or *travel*, are witnesses sufficient of these two particulars.

The absolute necessity of some order of government all the world over. First concerning *justice*, that if the *sword* and *balances* of *justice* (in a fort or measure) be not drawn and held forth, against *scandalous* offenders against *civil state*, that *civil state* must dissolve by little and little from *civility* to *barbarisme*, which is a *wilderness* of *life* and *manners*.

Peace. Yea the very *barbarians* and *Pagans* of the *world* themselves are forced for their *holding* and hanging together in barbarous *compaines*, to use the *ties* and *knots*, and *bands* of a kind of *civil justice* against scandalous offenders against their *Commonweale* and profit.

Truth. But too many thousands of *Cities* and *states* in the *world* have and do flourish for many *generations* and *ages* of men, wherein (whatever Cæsar gets) God cannot get one penny of his due in any bare *permission* or *toleration* of his *religion* and *worship*.

Peace. Dear *Truth*, these two points being so constantly proved, I can but wonder that Master *Cotton*

or any servant of *Christ Iesus*, should cry out to the *Cæsars* of this world to help the eternal *God* to get his due, because *Christ Iesus* grants them a *civil sword* in *civil cases*, to preserve their *civil states* from *barbarisme* and *confusion*.

Truth. That worthy *Emperor, Antoninus Pius*, in his letters for the *Christians*, plainly tels the *governors* of his *provinces*, that the *gods* were able to punish those that sinned against their *worship*; evidently declaring, by that light of *conscience* and *knowledge* which *God* had lighted up in his soul, the vast difference between *offenders* in the *civil state*, and *offenders* against the true and only *religion* and *worship*, about which the whole world disagreeeth, and is hift together (by this bloody tenent) I say hift together by the *ears* and *throat*, in *blood* and *fire*, as the tide of *times*, *major vote*, *armies* and *armes* of *flesh* prevaile.

Peace. Ah (Dear *truth*) is there is no *Balme* in *Gilead*, no *balances*, no sword of *spiritual justice* in the *City*, and *kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, but that the *officers* thereof must run to borrow [121] *Cæsars*? Are the *Armories* of the true king *Solomon Christ Iesus* disarmed? Are there no *spiritual swords* girt upon the thighs of those valiant ones, that should guard his heavenly bed, except the *sword* of *steel* be run for from the *cutlers shop*? Is the *Religion* of *Christ Iesus* so poor and so weak and feeble grown, so cowardly and base (since *Paul* spake so gloriously of it, and the weapons of it (2 *Cor.* 10.[4.]) that neither the *souldiers* nor *Commanders* in *Christs Army* have any *courage* or *skill* to withstand sufficiently in all points a false *teacher*, a false *prophet*, a *spiritual cheater* or *deceiver*?

Antoninus Pius his distinction.

The degeneracy of Christianity now professed.

Truth. This must all that follow *Jesus* bitterly lament, that not a spiritual *sword* or *spear* is to be found in the spiritual *Israel* of *God*, but that his poor *Israelites* are forced down to the *Philistins* of this worlds *Smiths*, &c. And that the princes of *Zion* are become feeble like *harts* without pasture, as *Jeremy* complaineth in his *Lamentations*. [1: 6.]

Peace. Now whereas it was added, that a *civil sword* hardens the *followers* of false *teachers* in the suffering of their *leaders*, and begets an impression of the *falsehood* of that *religion*, which cannot uphold it self all the world over, but with such *instruments* of violence, &c. Master *Cotton* replies, that the *Magistrate* ought not to draw out his *sword* against *seducers*, untill he hath used all good means for *conviction*, &c. and then (saith he) he should be cruel to *Christs Lambs* in sparing the *Foxes*, &c.

The loathing hypoc-
risie of per-
secutors.

Truth. Who knows not this to be the plea and practise of all *Popish persecutors* in all ages, to compass *sea* and *land* to reduce the *heretick* to the *union* and *bosome* of the *church*, not only with *promises*, *threatnings*, &c. but oftentimes with solemn *disputations*, and sometimes *writings* and *waitings*, before they come to the *definitive sentence*, and deliver him to the *secular power*, and so to the use of those desperate remedies of *hanging*, *burning*, &c. How do the bloody *Popes* and the bloody *Bonnors* in their *hypocritical letters* and *bloody sentences*, profess their lamentable grief at *errors* and *heresies*; their *clemency* and *mercy*, and great pains taken to reduce that *wandering*, to return the *lost childe*, to heal the scabbed *sheep*? yea and when they are forced (as they say)

for the saving of the *flock* from *infection* to deliver such *sheep* to the *secular* power, as their *butchers* and *executioners*; yet beseech they [122] that power, and that (most hypocritically without shame) in the bowels of *Christ Jesus*, to Minister *justice* with such *moderation*, that if it be possible the *hereticks* soul may be saved, but however the *flock* may be preserved from such damnable *Doctrine*. In their bloody sentence, and proceedings with the persecuted.

Peace. Master *Cotton* will here blame the alleadging of this: for the *Papish Religion* is false, but theirs true, &c.

Truth. Tis true, the *Papists Religion* is false, yet Master *Cotton* cannot pass without suspicion to be too neer of kin to the bloody *Papist*, to whom they are so neer in *practice*: The *Lord Jesus* gave an everlasting rule to his poor servants, to discern all false *prophets* by, to wit, their *fruits* and bloody *practices*. But,

Secondly, The holy *Spirit of God* in this 2 to *Tim.* now insisted on, not only commands *Timothy* to exhort the *opposite*, but patiently to wait and attend *Gods* will, if peradventure *God* will give *repentance*, and that they may recover themselves &c.

Peace. Master *Cotton* will not deny, together with meek exhortation, *patient waiting*, &c.

Truth. Why then doth he limit the holy one of *Israel* to *dayes* or *moneths*? Three months was by the law (in *Massachusetts* in *New England*) the time of *patience* to the *excommunicate*, before the *secular power* was to deal with him: But we finde no time limi-

¹ "It is therefore ordered, that whoever shall stand excommunicate for the space of 6 months, without labouring what in him or her lyeth to bee restored, such person shall be presented to the Court of Assistants, and then proceeded with by fine, imprisonment, or further, &c." *Mass. Col. Records*, i. 242, Sept.

Too short a time set for repentance in New England. ted, nor no *direction* given to *Timothy* or his *successors* to prosecute the *opposite* before *Cæsar's* bar, in case *God* vouchsafed not *repentance* upon their means and waiting.

3. *Christ Jesus* hath not been without *bowels of compassion* in all his gracious *care* and *provision* he hath made for his *sheep* and *lambs*, against the spiritual *Wolves* and *Foxes*; although we read not a word of the *arme of flesh* and *sword of steel* appointed by himself for their *defence* in his most blessed last *Will* and *Testament*.

False teachers commonly hardened by persecution. 4. Lastly, to that instance of the *Donatists* and *Papists* suppressed by the *civil sword*, no question but (as before) a *civil sword* is able, among *civil* people, to make a whole *nation*, or *world* of *hypocrites*: and yet experience also testifies (however *Master Cotton* makes it but *accidental*) that it is the common and ordinary *effect* of the *civil sword* drawn forth (as they speak) [123] against *hereticks*, *seducers* &c. to harden the *seducers* and *seduced*, by their *sufferings*, and to beget no other *opinion* in their hearts, then of the *cruelty* and *weakness* of the *heart* and *cause* of their *persecutors*.

The great sufferings of Master Gorton and his friends *Peace*. There hath been no small noise of *Master Gortons* and his friends being *disciplined* (or as the *Papists* call it, *discipled* in the Schoole of the *New English churches*: It is worth the inquiry to ask what *conviction* and *conversion* hath all their *hostilities*, *cap-*

6, 1638. In *The Bloody Tenent*, 222, *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 386, *Williams* refers to this law, and with the same unimportant error as to the time, intimating that he only knew the law by hear-

say. It continued in force but one year, having been repealed Sept. 9, 1639, sometime before the present work was written. *Massachusetts Colonial Records* i. 271.

tivatings, courtings, imprisonings, chainings, banishings, in New
&c. wrought upon them?¹ England.

¹ Samuel Gorton and his associates had been taken at Warwick and brought to Boston, where they were placed on trial, and received sentence Nov. 3, 1643. "They were charged to be blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy ordinances, and likewise of all civil government among his people, and particularly in this jurisdiction." Winthrop, *New England*, ii. 176; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, ii. 51. Gorton himself states that "they rehearsed in the ears of the people, divers gross opinions, which they had compiled together out of our writing, which we abhorred: that we denied all the Churches of Jesus Christ, because we could not join with them in that way of Church order which they had established among them: again, that we denied all the holy ordinances of Christ, because we could not join with them in their way of administration; as also that we denied all civil Magistracy, because we could not yield to their authority, to be exercised in those parts where we lived, (that place being above four and twenty miles out of their bound) which we would not once have questioned, if we had been within the compass of their jurisdiction." *Simplicities Defence*, *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 120.

The attempt on the part of Massachusetts to exercise territorial jurisdiction over Shawomet, which Gorton and his company had purchased of Miantinomi on purpose to escape from it, was mixed with the hatred for his opinions. But heresy and blasphemy were the charges which occupied the chief attention of the Court. After a long process,

conviction came, and "the Court proceeded to consider of their sentence, in which the Court was much divided. All the Magistrates, save three, were of opinion that Gorton ought to die, but the greatest number of the deputies dissenting, that vote did not pass." Winthrop, *New England*, ii. 177. Gorton was sentenced "to be confined to Charlestown, there to be set on work, and to wear such bolts or irons as may hinder his escape," and "if he shall break his said confinement, or publish, declare, or maintain any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies wherewith he hath been charged," "upon conviction thereof shall be condemned to death and executed." *Mass. Col. Rec.* ii. 52. *Simplicities Defence*, 134.

Cotton had taken his share in these atrocious proceedings. While the Court was deliberating upon the sentence, "the judgment of the elders also had been demanded about their blasphemous speeches and opinions, what punishment was due by the Word of God. Their answer was their offence deserved death by the law of God." Winthrop, *New England*, ii. 176. On the forenoon of the day in which sentence was passed upon them Cotton preached. Gorton says that he urged that if they had dissented not out of ignorance, but "out of tenderness of conscience, and able to render reason for what we did (and other things of like nature) then were we ripened for death." *Simplicities Defence*, 133. Gorton also accuses Cotton of having advised in a sermon on Zephaniah, ii. 10, 11, that all necessities be withheld from him and that he be

Truth. Shall I speak my thoughts without *partiality*? I am no more of Master Gortons Religion then of Master Cottons: and yet if Master Cotton complaine of their *obstinacy* in their way, I cannot but impute it to this *bloody tenent* and *practice*, which ordinarily doth give strength and *vigour*, *spirit* and *resolution* to the most erroneous, when such *unrighteous* and most *unchristian* proceedings are exercised against them.

Antoninus Pius his Edict against persecution.

Peace. Touching the *Edict* of *Antoninus Pius* concerning *persecution* of *Christians*, and the opinion it begat in their hearts of the cruelty of their *persecutors*, Master Cotton answers, first, the *Pagan Religion* is not of *God* but the *Religion* of *Christians* came down from Heaven in the *Gospel-truth*.

Truth. This is most true, to him that believeth that there is but one *God*, one *Lord*, one *Spirit*, one *baptism*, one *body* &c. according to *Christ Jesus* his *institution*; and that from that blessed *estate* the *Apostacy* hath been made; and that all other *Gods*,

starved to death. *Simplicities Defence*, 138.

That Williams was not only not "of Master Gorton's religion," but even held him in considerable dislike at an earlier period, is seen in a letter to Winthrop, published in Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 55, 56. "Providence, 8th 1st, 1640. Master Gorton having abused high and low at Aquidnick, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his uncleane and foul censures of all the ministers of this country (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him), and also denying all visible and externall ordinances in

depth of Familisme, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High assenting) to death. As Paul said of Asia, I of Providence (almost) all suck in his poyson, as at first they did at Aquidnick. Some few and myself withstood his inhabitation, and town privileges, without confession to reformation of his uncivil and inhuman practices at Portsmouth: Yet the tide is too strong against us, and I feare (if the framer of hearts helpe not) it will force me to little Patience, a little isle next to your Prudence." Arnold, *Hist. R. I.*, i. 172.

Lords, Spirits, Faiths, Baptisms or churches, are false: But what is this to many *millions* of men and women, in so many *kingdoms* and *nations*, *Cities* and parts of the *world*, who believe as confidently their lies of many *Gods* and *Christs*, all which they believe (as the *Ephesians* of their *Diana*, and of the *image* of *Jupiter*, and (as Master Cotton of the way of his *Religion*) that they come down from *heaven*?

Peace. Doubtless, according to their belief, all the *peoples* of those *nations*, *kingdoms* and *countries*, wherein the name of *Christ* is founded, whether of the *greek church* or the *latine*, whether of *Popish* or *Protestant* profession will say as Master Cotton, my *religion* came down from *heaven* in the *Gospel* of *Truth*, &c.

124] *Truth.* Now then either the *sword* of *steel* must decide this *controverſie* (according to the *bloody tenent* of *persecution*) in the suppressing of *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *idolaters* and *ſeducers*, by the strength of an arme of *fleſh*: or else the two-edged sword of the Spirit of *God*, the *word* of *God* coming out of the mouth of *Christ Jeſus* in the *mouths* of his *ſervants*, which will either *humble* and *ſubdue* the *Rebels*, or cut moſt deep, and kill with an *eternal vengeance*.

Peace. But (ſaith Master Cotton) it will beget an *opinion* of *cruelty* to murder *innocents*, but not to put to death murderers of ſouls.

Truth. I answer, beſide that great and common difference of *civil murder*, and *ſpiritual*, there is a ſecond, to wit, that in the murder of an *innocent*, the conſcience of a *murderer* is opened, and commonly the mouth confeſſeth I am a *murderer*, I have killed an *innocent*: but run through all the *coaſts* and quar-

The difference between ſpiritual and corporal murder.

ters of the whole world, and the very *consciences* of so many thousands of *soul-murtherers* are rootedly satisfied and perswaded, that they are so far from being *murtherers* as that they are so many *saviours* of the *souls* of men, and *Priests* and *Ministers* of the most high God or Gods, &c.

Peace. For instance, if a man say Master Cotton is a *subject* of the state of England, and a *Minister* of that *worship*, which he believeth to be true, confirmed by *argument* and *light* sufficient to his *understanding soul* and conscience: How many thousand are there fellow-*subjects* with Master Cotton to the *English state*, yet of a contrary mind to Master Cotton in matter of Gods *worship*? yea how many are there (it may be thousands) professing a *Ministry* contrary to Master Cottons? and the like may be found in other *nations* and *parts* of the world.

Civil justice ought impartially to permit one conscience as well as another.

Truth. What true *reason* of *justice*, *peace*, or *common* safety of the whole, can be rendred to the world why Master Cottons conscience and *Ministry* must be maintained by the *sword*, more then the *consciences* and *Ministeries* of his other fellow-subjects? Why should he be accounted (I mean at the bar of *civil justice*) I say accounted a *soul Saviour*, and all other *Ministers* of other *Religions* and *consciences*, *soul-murtherers*, and so be executed as *murtherers*, or forced to temporize or turn from their *Religion*, [125] which is but *hypocrisie* in *Religion* against their *conscience*, which is ten thousand times worse, and renders men, when they sin against their *conscience*, not only *hypocrites*, but *Atheists*, and so fit for the practise of any *evil* *murthers*, *adulteries*, *treasons*, &c?

Peace. Master Cottons second Answer is, that the persecuting *Emperors* and *governors* of *Provinces* under them, attended not to the conviction of *christians*, nor did they endeavour to make it appear that the *Christians* sinned against the light of their *consciences*, and therefore no marvel if it bred in the people a just opinion of the *cruelty* of *persecutors*, and of the *innocency* of *christians*. *The difference of the persecution of the Roman Emperors and the Roman Popes.*

Truth. Let it be granted that the *Roman Emperors* did not attend to, nor endeavour this, yet the *Roman Popes*, and all the *Antichrist* governors of their mystical *Provinces*, *Bishops* and *Priests*, have professedly compassed *Sea* and *Land* to make a *Profelyte*.

Peace. Tis true, the *history* of the death of the *Saints*, slaughtered by such persecutors abundantly testifie this, and yet their *persecution* will be found no other then *cruelty* and *murther*, and the opinion of it will never be razed out of the heart of *Gods* people, whatever the whole *world* (which wonders after and *worships the beast*) think to the contrary.

Truth. And I add, that herein Master Cottons former position, to wit [that *hereticks* must be punished by the *civil sword*, for sinning against the light of their own *conscience*] accords fully with the Popish clamors, [the *hereticks* mouths are stopped, they are *convinced*, they have not a word to say, and yet they are *obstinate*; away with them, hang them, burn them.]

Peace. Master Cotton saith, It is an untrue intimation of the *discusser*, that *Antoninus* forbod the persecuting of *christians* upon any such ground.

Truth. That it may not rest upon the *discussers*

credit or discredit, I think it not unseasonable if I present to *English* eyes the *English* testimony of the diligent and praise worthy-Chronicler *John Speede*, who also ingageth *Eusebius* his credit, and thus relateth the effect of *Antoninus* his mind in these words.¹

The Emperor *Cæsar, Marcus, Aurelius, Antonius, &c.*
Unto the Commons of *Asia*,

Sendeth Greeting.

*Antoninus
Pius his
famous
Edict for
liberty to
the Chris-
tians relat-
ed by that
praise-wor-
thy Master
John
Speede
out of
Eusebius.*

I Doubt not, but the Gods themselves have a care that wicked persons shall be brought to light; for it doth much more appertain to them, then it doth to you, to punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship: but this course which you take, doth confirme them whom you persecute in this their opinion of you, That you are impious men, and meer Atheists; whereby it commeth to pass, that they desire in the quarrel of their GOD, rather to die then to yeeld to the will of such as you are, and to embrace your form of Religion: Let it not seem unseasonable to call to your remembrance the Earthquakes which lately have happned, and which are yet, to your great terrour and grief; because I understand, that in such like Accidents, you cast the Envy of such common misfortune, upon their Shoulders; whereby their confidence, and trust in their GOD is much the more increased: Whereas, you being ignorant of the true causes of such things, do

¹ *The Historie of Great Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans, &c.*, by John Speed. Lond. 1632. p. 100. John Speed (1552-1629) was a tailor by trade, but Sir Fulk Greville discovering his love for the antiquities of Great Britain, gave him an allowance to enable him to prosecute his

studies. The book named above, from which Williams quotes the translation of the rescript, is his great work, on which he spent fourteen years labor, and appeared in 1614. It is considered superior to any of the preceding chronicles, and entitles him to the praise bestowed in the text. Rose, *Biog. Diæ.*, xii. 84.

both neglect the worship of the other Gods, and also banish and persecute the servants of the immortal GOD, whom the Christians do worship; and you persecute to the death all the embracers of that profession. In the behalf of these men, many of the Provinces President have written before to my Father of famous memory, to whom he answered, That they should not be molested, unless they were proved to have practised Treason against the Imperial State; and concerning the same matter, some have given notice to me, to whom I answered with like moderation as my Father did before me: And by our Edict, do ordaine, That if any hereafter be found thus busie in molesting these kind of men, without any their offence, We command that he that is accused upon this point, be absolved; albeit he be proved to be such an one as he is charged to be, that is, a Christian; and he that is his accuser, shall suffer the same Punishment which he sought to procure unto the other.¹

127] In this passage the *wise* and *experienced* Emperor observeth many *reasons* for the toleration of *Christians*, and insinuates that the persecuting of the Christians, confirmed them in their opinion, that their *persecutors* were not only *cruel* (for that is the least that can be implied in *persecution*) but also as the words run, impious men and meer *Atheists*.

¹ This rescript is given by Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.*, Lib. iv., Cap. 13, Cantabrigiæ, 1720; also by Justin Martyr, *Opera*, tom. i., p. 100, Parisiis, 1636. But its authenticity is generally doubted by scholars. "It is now generally given up as spurious." Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, ii. 158. "Any man moderately acquainted with Roman history will see at once from the style and tenor that it

is a clumsy forgery." George Long, *Thoughts of M. Aurelius*, 24. "The author of this rescript speaks rather the language of a Christian than of a pagan emperor. The succeeding history, moreover, does not notice the existence of such an edict." Neander, *Church History*, i. 104. "That it is not genuine has been shown most convincingly by *Is. Haffner*, &c." Gieseler, *Ecc. Hist.* i. 79, note 4.

The persecuted ever nourish an hard conceit of cruelty and Tyranny in their persecutors, whereas Malefactors confess frequently the justice of their condemn-ers.

Peace. Dear Truth, your *observation* forceth from my peaceable mind, this *Testimony*, which oft to my grief and horror, mine eares have heard many *persons* (I hope in their *persons* chosen of the Lord) having as they conceived, suffered *persecution* from the hands, and by the means of many worthy men both of *Magistracy* and *Ministry* of *New England*: I say, they have been by such *persecution* so far from being wrought on &c. that they have been moulded into a strong *apprehension*, that it was impossible that such their *persecutors* should be men of any *fear* of God, but meer *dissemblers*, *time-servers*, *Jehues reformers*, for their own ends of *honor*, *ease*, and *liberty* from the *cross* of *Christ*: which *apprehension* although the *discusser* (to my knowledge) hath often labored to root out of many, yet could he hardly prevaile to stir it, so grossly, *odious*, *unchristian*, or *antichristian*, appears the ugly face of *persecution* &c.

Examination of CHAP. XLI.

Peace.

IN the discussing of the prophecy of *Isaiah* and *Micah*, concerning the breaking of *swords* into *plowshares*, and *speares* into *pruning-hooks*, truly interpreted to foretell the meek temper of *Christians* in bringing others to *Christ Jesus*, Master Cotton excepts against the discussers observation upon Master Cottons similitude from *Wolves* which he would have driven out from the *sheepfold*: The observation was this, or

to this effect, [That if *civil power* might force the *wolves* out, it might force the *sheep* in.]

Truth. The discusser denied not the use of *Christs spiritual power* for the life of his *sheep*, and *destruction* of the *Wolves*: but *heaven* and *earth* shall fall before this truth, to wit, [That *power* that driveth *Wolves* out, may drive *sheep* in.] If *spiritual* [128] *power* drive out the *wolfe spiritual*, also drives in the *sheep*, but if *civil power* (to wit, by *swords*, *whips*, *prisons*, *burnings*, &c.) drives out the *spiritual* or *mystical Wolfe*, the same undeniably must drive in the *sheep*. If Civil power may force out of the church, it may also force in.

Peace. Yea, but Master *Cotton* (too too weakly) would please himself upon the word [*same*:] a *father*, saith he, with a *staffe* or *sword* may drive away *dogs* that might by the way worry or bite his *children* going to *School*, may he therefore with a *staffe* or *sword* drive his *children* to *School*? and are *wolves* to be driven away, and *sheep* brought into the *fold* by the same *instruments*? The *dog* that teares a *wolfe*, if he tear the *sheep* also, will finde an *halter*, &c.

Truth. Master *Cotton* hath had a name for a man of *Moses spirit*, of a meek and gentle temper; he cannot but know he hath lost that name with thousands fearing *God*, by not putting that difference, between the *Wolves* and the *sheep*, the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*, as *Moses* did: *Moses* killed the *Egyptian*, he reproves the *Israelite*: All that contradict Master *Cottons church way* (though before dear *brethren*, familiar and intimate) he not only drives them out, as *wolves blasphemers*, *seducers* &c. by his pretended *spiritual weapons* of *Christ Jesus*, but also by *civil sword*, imprisoning, banishing, whipping, &c. Every true Moses will make a difference between Israelites and Egyptians.

But more particularly, The discusser indeed useth this word the *same power*, but not as Master Cotton seemeth to understand it, for the *same weapon*. He hath in this very place printed the discussers words, that a *staff* is for the *wolfe*, and a *rod* or *hook* for the *sheep*. The *dog* that teares the *wolf*, is but to affright the *sheep* and consequently the *father* that hath a stick a *rod* for the *child*; But yet these *swords*, *staves*, *sticks*, and *rods*, are all of the *same nature* in general, that is of a *material*, temporal and *civil nature*, which may be used about natural *wolves*, *sheep*, *children*, &c. And if they may be used also about spiritual or mystical *wolves*, to force them out; it is as cleare as the *Sun-Beames*, that they may be used, that is such *civil weapons* as are fit for *mystical wolves* to force them into the *sheepfold*: And thus have all *Papish* persecutors practised in our own and other countries, to wit, by *civil power* (as well as by their own pretended *spiritual*) in forcing their supposed *sheep* to *church*, and to *conformity*, as well as by *whips*, and *Prisons*, *Ropes* and *Fires*, driving out the supposed *wolves* or *hereticks*.

129] *Peace*. In the close of this, Master Cotton adds that (*Rev. 6. 6.*) the *Antichristian wolves* shall drink *blood*, for they are worthy.

Truth. I have in former passages declared the misconceit of Master Cotton and others, as touching that *Scripture*, and that, although they shall drink *blood* filled out of the *cups* of *Gods* righteous *vengeance* yet not by judicial prosecution in *civil courts* for *spiritual offences*, although yet it is most righteous for the *kings* and *powers* of the earth, meerly with respect to these

wolves their oppressions and bloodsheddings, to repay them again with the like smart and paine, and kinds of punishment.

Peace. Yea and tis for ever memorable, that while the kings of the earth have given their power to the beast, against the bodies of the Saints, what cups of blood hath the righteous hand of the most high filled to Antichristian kings and kingdomes, by the bloody Turkes, and by their own more bloody wars, sometimes for the empty puffs of their titles and honors, but as frequently for God (as they pretend) and for his Religion.

Examination of CHAP. XLII.

Peace.

IN this Chapter Master Cotton chargeth the discusser for making work, to wit, for examining more particularly the similitude of wolves brought in by Master Cotton himself: yet he consenteth with him in the first quæry, that those Wolves of which Paul warns the elders at Ephesus, were mystical and spiritual wolves; yet he adds that such cannot be good subjects, loving neighbors, faire dealers, because they spiritually are not such; and he argues, that then it will be no advantage to civil states, when the kingdomes of the earth shall become the kingdomes of the Lord: and that then they may do as good service to the civil state, who bring the wrath of God upon them by their apostacy, as they that bring down blessings from heaven by profession and practise of the true religion in purity.

Truth. I desire that this *reply* be well pondred, for it will be found dangerously destructive to the very *roots* of all civil *relations*, [130] converse and dealing; yea, and any *civil being* of the *world it self*.

Men may
be very
faire and
peaceable,
though not
of the only
one religion.

For, if none be peaceable *subjects*, loving *neighbors*, faire *dealers*, but such [as are] of Master Cottons *conscience* and *religion* (which he conceives to be the only true *religion*) what will become of all other *states*, *governments*, *cities*, *towns*, *peoples*, *families*, *neighbors*, upon the *face* of the earth? I say, what will become of them (especially if power were in Master Cottons hand to deal with them as *Wolves*?)

Peace. Alas, too too frequent *experience* tells us in all parts of the *world*, that many thousands are far more peaceable *subjects*, more loving and helpful *neighbors*, and more true and fair *dealers* in *civil conversation*, then many who account themselves to be the only *religious* people in the *world*.

Truth. But againe, What the state of things shall be, and what the manner of the *administration* of *Christs* *kingdome*, when the *kingdomes* of the *earth* shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord*, Master Cotton doth not expresse: and for wrath brought upon *civil states* for their *apostacy*, I desire Master Cotton to shew, where ever *God* destroyed any Nation in the world (one only excepted) for *Apostacy* from his *truth* and *worship*? Yea and where was ever *Israel* (the only true *national church* that Master Cotton will acknowledge) meerly for *apostasie* destroyed, without general ripeness in other sins also, and especially for their persecuting of such, as declared their *apostasie*, *superstition*, and will-worship from *God* unto them.

Peace. In the next place Master Cotton granting that the charge given to watch against these *Wolves*, was not given to the *Magistrates* of the City of *Epheſus*, but to the *elders* of the church of *Chriſt* in *Epheſus*, he yet chargeth the diſcuſſer with a palpable and notorious ſlander, for ſaying, that many of thoſe charges and exhortations given by the Lord *Jeſus* to the ſhepherds and *Minifters* of the churches, are commonly attributed by the answerer in this diſcourſe to the civil *Magiſtrate*.

Truth. This heavy charge of Maſter Cottons againſt the diſcuſſer, will be found to be a fruit of *Anger* and paſſion, and not of *reaſon* and *moderation*; as alſo his denial that one of thoſe charges given to *Minifters*, were directed by him to *Magiſtrates*.

131]. For if Maſter Cotton, or any pleaſe to view over Maſter Cottons allegations from the New Teſtament in this diſcourſe, he ſhall finde that (*Tit.* 3. [10.]) reject the heretick a charge given by the Lord *Jeſus* to *Titus*, and the church at *Crete*, is brought for the proof of the *Magiſtrates* puniſhing, imprifoning, baniſhing, killing the heretick, idolater &c. *Scriptures*
perverted
from the
church to
the civil
ſtate.

The like charges of *Chriſt Jeſus* ſent to the *Minifters* and churches of *Aſia*, for tolerating amongſt them *Balaam* and *Jezabel*, are produced to prove proſecutions againſt falſe *Prophets* and profeſſors in the City and *Commonweal*.

Yea although Maſter Cotton name not *Act.* 20. [29.] yet in that Maſter Cotton affirmeth that *Magiſtrates* with the civil ſword muſt drive away *Wolves*, from the ſheepfold of *Chriſt* the church, meaning ſpiritual wolves, falſe teachers, he may be truly ſaid to quote all ſuch *Scriptures* as give charge againſt ſuch *Wolves*.

Peace. Indeed Master Cotton more then once pleaseth himself with this similitude of *Wolves*, to prove the *Magistrates* piety and pity to the *sheep*, in slaying and driving away the *wolves*, *false teachers*, &c.

The Magistrate usually the Clergies Cane, &c.

Truth. Hence was it (for commonly where *state-Religions* are set up, the *Magistrate* is but the *Ministers Cane* through whom the *Clergy* speaks) I say probably hence from such misapplied *Scriptures* in their *churches*, that in their solemn *civil general court*, at the banishment of one poor man amongst them, hunted out as a *wolf* or *heretick*, the *governor* who then was, standing up alleadged for a ground of their duty to drive away such by *banishment*, that famous charge of *Christ Jesus* to his *Ministers* and *Church* at *Rome* (*Rom. 16. [17.]*) Marke them that cause *divisions* contrary to the *doctrine* which you have received, and avoid, that is, by *banishment* :¹ By all which and more it may be found, how *Sathan* hath abused their godly minds and apprehensions in causing them so to abuse the holy *writings* of *truth* and *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and that how ever they deny it in expresse tearms, yet by most impregnable *consequence* and implication they make up a kind of *national church*, and (as the phrase is) a *Christian state* and *government* of *church* and *Commonweale*, that is, of *Christ* and the *world* together.

Rom. 16. 17. grossly abused by a governor in New England.

¹ See page 106, *supra*. This refers to Williams's own banishment. The ministers were invited to meet with the magistrates, and give their advice in his case. Which was worse, for the ministers to declare such opinions as they did, or for the court to ask their advice, is not easy to say. How completely they acted together, and united Church and State, is

seen in Winthrop's account of the trial. *New England*, i. 194. John Haynes was Governor. Six months after, when Winthrop was called in question for his administration, Haynes accused him of too great lenity, which he seems to have determined should be no fault of his. *Winthrop*, i. 212.

Peace. To proceed, it being further inquired into, whether in [132] all the *New Testament* of *Christ Jesus* there be any such word of *Christ*, either by way of *command*, *Promise*, or example countenancing the *civil state* to meddle with these *mystical Wolves*, if in *civil* things peaceable and obedient. Master *Cotton* replieth, that this *condition* of *peaceable* and *obedient*, implies a *contradiction* to the *nature* and *practise* of *wolves*. How can, saith he, *wolves* be peaceable and obedient, unless *restrained*? Can there be peace, *Jehu*, so long as the *whoredomes* of *Jezabel* and her *witchcrafts* are so many? And when it might be objected that *spiritual whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* might stand with *civil* peace, He answers, No verily, for the *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts* of the *Jezabel* of *Rome* took away *civil* peace from the *earth*, and brought the *Turks* to oppress both the peace of *Christian churches* and *Commonweals*, Rev. 9. 15, 21.

Truth. I wonder since Master *Cotton* in this very passage mentioneth the *spiritual wolves*, *whores*, and *witches*, as well as *natural* and *moral*. How he can imagine that a *spiritual wolf* or *witch* (to wit, so or so in matters of *spiritual* worship and *religion*) might not possibly be peaceable and *obedient* in *civil* things.

Peace. Yea but he alleadgeth the *whoredomes* of the *Jezabel* of *Rome*.

Truth. Why, was not the *State* of *England*, the *Kings* and *Queens*, and *Parliaments* thereof, lawful as *kings* and *states*, though overwhelmed and overspread univerſally with the *Romish* abominations? If such *wolves*, *whores*, and *witches* could yeeld no *civil* obedience, could they then exercise (by the same argu-

The bloody Tenent plucks up the nations and all civil being, &c. *ment* any *civil authority*? And shall we then conclude all the former Popish *kings* and *Parliaments* (and consequently *lawes*) unlawful, because in *spiritual* things they were as *Wolves*, &c. tearing and burning the poor sheep of *Christ*? will it not then be unlawful for any man, that is perswaded the whole *nation* where he lives is *idolatrous*, *spiritually whorish*, &c. I say unlawful for him to live in such a *state*, although he might with freedome to his own *conscience*? whither will such kind of arguing drive at last, but to pluck up the *roots* of all *states* and peoples in the *world*, as not capable to yeeld *civil* obedience, or exercise *civil authority*, except such people, *Magistrates*, &c. as are of *Master Cottons church* and *religion*.

133] *Peace*. Methinks *experience* (were there no *Scripture* nor *reason*) might tell us how peaceable and just neighbors and dealers many thousands and millions of *Jews*, *Turks*, *Antichristians*, and *Pagans* are to be found, notwithstanding their *spiritual whoredoms*, *witchcrafts*, &c.

The plague of the Turkes. *Truth*. Yea, and why doth *Master Cotton* alleadge the *Jezabel* of *Rome*, and the comming in of the *Turks*? It is true, *God* brought in the *Armies* of the *Turkes* upon the *Eastern Empire*, which yet flourished many ages (even in their *apostacies*) before their *destruction* by the *Turkes*. And how many ages and *generations* hath *Iezabel* of *Rome* sitten as a *Queen* in triumphant *peace* and *glory*, even since the rising of the *Turks* (and so shall sit probably in greater and greater, untill the time of her appointed *judgement* and downfal? If *Christ Jesus* were a true *Prophet*

Romes glory and downfal.

(*Iohn 16.*) outward peace, prosperity, riches, honor, is the portion of this *world*, notwithstanding their *idolatries, apostacies, blasphemies*: But the portion of *Christs* followers (like his own, and both like a woman in travel) paine and sorrow, yea poverty and persecution, untill the great day of refreshing, neer approaching.

Peace. Master Cotton againe sends us to Revelations the 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.

Truth. And I must also send Master Cotton and the Reader to our disproving of that proof above said.

Further, whereas he calls *Rom. 13. [4.]* the great Charter for all *Magistrates* to deal in *spiritual matters*, I have and shall manifest in the examinations upon that place, how weak a warrant it is for the civil state, and the officers thereof, to conceive themselves *spiritual Physitians*, by vertue of their office, appointed by God, in spiritual and *soul-evils*.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that *Magistrates* beside their skill in *civil laws* and government, must be able (if Master Cottons bloody tenent be true) as judges and heads to determine *spiritual causes* and controversies, and that by the sight of his own eyes, and not other mens; Master Cotton replies, that *Magistrates* ought to be skilled in the fundamentals of religion, and that their ignorance excuseth not.

Truth. In this passage Master Cotton waveth that inference [134] [That then *Magistrates* must be heads and judges in *spiritual causes*:] That inference cannot possibly be avoided, if we grant it their duty (as Master Cotton seemes to do) to pass sentence in the fun-

damentals of religion, and in those points which have been and are so greatly controverted among all sorts of men that name the *name of Christ*.

Foul neglects cast upon Christ Jesus.

2. If *Magistrates* must thus judge, reforme, &c. where hath been the care of *Christ Iesus* to appoint in all parts of the world, such *Magistrates*, as might take care of his *religion* and *worship*? why hath he not furnished them with some *capacity* and *ability* to the work?

Peace. It is lamentable to think that most of the *Magistrates* in the world (beyond compare) know not so much as whether there be a *Christ* or no.

Truth. If *Christ Iesus* had forgotten himself for three hundred yeers together, furnishing his *church* with no other *heads* but of *Wolves*, *Bear*, *Lyons*, and *Tygers*, the *Romane Emperors* yet (after a little refreshing by *Constantine*, *Theodosius* &c.) why should he still forget himself (even a thousand yeers together, providing no other *heads*, but bloody and *Popish kings* and *Emperors*?

The case of Gallio.

Peace. What think you (*dear truth*) of Master *Cottons* grant of *Gallios* not being bound to judge in matters of *religion*, because he had no Law from *Cæsar* whose *deputy* he was?

Truth. I answer what if he had not a law from *Cæsar*, if yet he had a law from *Christ Iesus*, as Master *Cotton* implies? Or will Master *Cotton* suspend the *execution* of *Christs will*, upon the *kings*, *states*, or *peoples* minds that choose such *Magistrates* to be their *deputies* in the *Commonweale*? But the truth is, concerning *Gallio*, whatever he was in his person, and however he did evil in suffering the peace to be

broken; yet will Master *Cotton* never prove, that he had calling from either *God* or *man*, to go beyond his *civil Magistracy* and *office* to intermeddle with *matters* of a *spiritual nature*, and that *Gallio* knew well enough, and other *Magistrates* of the *world* shall know in the *Lords* most gracious appointed season.

Peace. The discusser ending this Chapter with the infallible safety of *Gods* chosen, notwithstanding all ravenous *wolves*, &c. [135] Master *Cotton* replies from *Deut* 13. that *God* was able to keep his sheep in *Israel*, yet they that seduced them were to be put to death.

Truth. That argument was not alleadged with the derogation to any of *Gods* holy *ordinances*, which concern the *calling* or *preserving* of such whom *God* hath chosen to *salvation*, but only to discover the over-busie fear of *Gods* loosing any of his chosen to *salvation*, by the jaws of *spiritual wolves*, &c. For *Deut.* 13. [5. 10.] Let Master *Cotton* produce such a *miraculous nation* or *people* (as I may call it) so brought out of the land of *Egypt* into *covenant* with *God* &c. and I shall readily grant that *seducers* of such a people from such a *God*, are worthy to die a thousand *deaths*: But if Master *Cotton* will now tell me that the *Christian congregational church* is the *Israel* of *God*, and the coming forth of *Egypt* is now *mystical* and *spiritual*, why will he not content himself with a *mystical* and *spiritual death* to be inflicted upon him that shall seduce an *Israelite* from the *Lord* his *God*?

Examination of CHAP. XLIII.*Peace.*

*Shameful
weakness
cast upon
the spirit-
ual Artil-
lery of
Christ
Jesus.*

UPON the fifth query to wit, whether the elders of the *church* at *Ephesus* were not sufficiently furnished by the Lord *Jesus* to drive away these *spiritual* and *mystical wolves*, Master *Cotton* replies, by granting, that they were furnished with sufficient power to cast them out of the *church*; but being cast out, they had not sufficient power to drive them away from *conferring* and *corrupting* the members of the *church*, or other *godly* ones out of the *church*; and he adds, that it is no dishonour to *Christ*, nor *impeachment* to the *sufficiency* of his *ordinances* left by *Christ*, that in such a case the *minister of justice* in the *civil state*, should assist the *Ministers of the Gospel* in the *church state*.

*The spirit-
ual liber-
ties of
Christs
people in
spiritual
causes.*

Truth. This grant and this *addition* do as ill agree, as *light* and *darkeness*, *Christ* and *Belial* together. For, is the *church* or *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus* sufficiently furnished (that is, in it [136] self without the help of the *civil Magistrate*) to *excommunicate*, to cast these *wolves* out of the *Fold*: Oh let M. *Cotton* then, and all that love *Christ Jesus* in truth, observe what evidently follows, then is this *church* of *Christ* sufficiently furnished to receive such persons in againe upon *repentance*, then sufficiently furnished at first to be congregated together by *Christs* *meanes* to *ordaine* their *officers*, to judge of *doctrines* and *persons*, and all this (necessarily upon Master *Cottons* grant) without the help of the *civil Magistrates*.

Peace. Yea, and it seemes to me incredible, and unreasonable, that *Christ Iesus* should have left *power* and *authority* sufficient to take and bind a *rebel* against his *kingdome*, to *arraigne* him and pass *sentence* upon him, yea and *execute* him in the *cutting off* such an *offendor* from the *land* of the *living*, delivering him over into the power of that roaring *Lyon* the *devil*; ^{The mighty power of spiritual weapons.} And yet that *Christ Iesus* should not have left *power* sufficient (in such *publick*, high and *solmne actions* of his *kingdome*) to declare sufficient cause of such *proceedings*, by which all men may see, the goings of the *Son of God* in his *church* and *kingdome*, or if willfully blind may justly be further hardned.

Truth. The place from *Titus* alleadged (unto which many other *Scriptures* testifie) I say that place doth evidently shew, that the power of *Christ Iesus* left in the hand of his *churches* and *elders*, was not only sufficient to cast out such *wolves*, but even to stop or *muzzle* their *mouthes* (whatever their *gainsaying* be, whether by *conferring*, *preaching*, *printing* &c.) which takes off the plea of the great need of the *civil sword*, ^{A vaine fear of false teachers.} to correct the *conference* of such persons &c. when by the words of *Paul* it is here plaine, that they can perform such conferences, no otherwise, but with a *stopt* or *muzzled mouth*.

Let it be produced where *Christ Iesus* in such cases writes to the *Magistrates* (either of *Crete*, or *Ephesus*, ^{Christ Iesus nor Paul adrest themselves to the civil state.} or any other *civil jurisdiction* where the *churches* were resident) to help the *Ministers* and *churches* with their *civil powers*, after they had cast forth any person obstinate: Doubtless *Christ Iesus* in *Paul* and other of his servants would have written to some of *such Magis-*

trates in some place or other, having occasion to write to so many *churches* about such cases.

137] *Peace*. It will (possibly) be said, it had been in vaine, for they were *idolaters* and *persecutors*.

Truth. The Lord is pleased throughout the whole Scripture in the mouths of his *servants* and *prophets* to call for duties at the hands of all *men*, notwithstanding their natural *hardness* and *inability*, that so he might drive them to see their *duty* and *misery*, and *remedy* alone in *God* by *Christ Jesus*.

Turk and Pope and all Protestants against free conference. *Peace*. I see now, that this hindring of conference &c. by the *civil sword* is nothing else but a *conformity* with the *Pope* in defending his *Canons*, and with the *Turk* in guarding his *Alcoran* by *fire* and *sword*; with

whom, and their ways *Christ Jesus* hath no *conformity* nor *communion*, nor with their *carnal sword*, his two-edged *sword* that proceedeth out of his *mouth* Rev. 1. [16] Beside *Christ Jesus* hath not onely furnished his church with *power* sufficient to *excommunicate*, but every one of his *followers* with a *complete armour* from *head* to *foot* (*helmet*, *breast-plate* *sword* and *Target*, and and *spiritual shoes* (*Ephes.* 6. [14. 15.]) in which respect the least of *Christ's servants* are inabled to stop the mouth of *Papists*, *Pope*, *Turks* and *devils*.

The ammunition of Christ's soldiers. *Peace*. Yea all *experience* shews how *Christ Jesus* (little *David*) in the least of his *servants*, hath been able with those plaine *smooth stones* out of the brook of holy *Scripture*, to lay groveling in their *spiritual gore*, the *stoutest Champions* (*Popes*, *Cardinals*, *Bishops*, *Doctors*) of the *Antichristian Philistines*.

David and Goliath types. *Truth*. I add, if the *elders*, and *churches*, and *ordinances* of *Christ* have such need of the *civil sword* for

their *maintenance* and *protection* (I mean in *spiritual things*) sure the *Lord Jesus Christ* cannot be excused for not being careful either to expresse this great *ordinance* in his *will* and *Testament*, or else to have furnished the *civil state* and *officers* thereof with *ability* and *hearts* for this their great *duty* and *employment*, to which he hath called them; the contrary whereof in all *Ages*, in all *nations*, and in all *experience*, hath ever been most lamentably true.

Peace. I am not clear (*dear truth*) in the *distinction*, Master Cotton makes of *Christs Ministers* in the *Gospel*, and *Christs Ministers* in the *civil state*.

Truth. There is a mistake in it, for although *Christ* hath all power delivered to him in *heave* and *earth*, yet as touching his [138] *spiritual church* or *kingdome* he disclaimes it to be of the *world*, or *worldly*. Hence cannot the *civil state* or *officers* thereof be called *Christs*, as if they were of *Christs institution* and *appointment*, himself being their *spiritual head*. And therefore it is that the *Spirit of God* calls him the *head of the body*, which is the *church*, and the *Ministers* and *officers* of this his *kingdome* and *body Christs Ministers* or *servants*. Beside, Master Cotton will not say that the *kingdomes* of the *world* are yet become the *Lord Christs*: In what manner also those *kingdomes* shall become his, we have need of the holy Spirit to evidence and demonstrate to us.

Peace. To the fifth *query*, whether (as *men deal with wolves*) these *wolves* at *Ephesus* were intended by *Paul* to be *killed*, their *braines* dashed out with *stones*, *staves*, *halberts*, *guns*, &c. in the hands of the *elders* of *Ephesus*: Master Cotton replies, *Elders* must

keep within the *bounds* of their *calling*: But such courses were commanded the people of *God* by order from the *Judges*, *Deut.* 13. [10.] And where it was added, that comparing Things *spiritual* with *spiritual*, *spiritual* and mystical *wolves* should be *spiritually* and *mystically* slaine. Master *Cotton* replies, True, but in destroying *religion* they also disturbe the *civil state*, and accordingly are to be dealt withal by *civil Justice*, as *Achan* was for troubling *Israel*, *Iosb.* 7. 25.

Truth. This acknowledgement of Master *Cotton*, that these *wolves* must *spiritually* be killed, their *braines* dashed out by the *elders* and *Saints* might (if the *Lord* should graciously so please) easily satisfie himself and all men, that the type of *Israel* stoning and killing corporally, is here fulfilled in all dreadful abundance *spiritually*.

Peace. Yea, but saith Master *Cotton*, they disturbe the *civil state* as *Achan* did.

Truth. I answer, *Achan* troubling of *Israel*, the people of the *Lord*, must figure out any such like troubling Gods *Israel*, the church of *Christ*, for which he is accordingly to be *spiritually* stoned or executed: For, as touching the *civil state* of the *nations* of the world, who can prove (and Master *Cotton* will not affirme) that they are as the *national church* of the *Jews* was? but being meerly *civil*, are armed with *civil power* and *weapons* for their *civil defence* against all *disturbers* [139] of their *civil state*, as also Master *Cotton* confesseth the *spiritual state* is furnished with *spiritual power* against all the *disturbers* of its *spiritual peace* and safety.

Peace. Now whereas it was further added, that

Israel's corporal killing types of spiritual.

Achan's troubling of Israel a figure of troubling the Israel or Church of Christ now.

under pretence of driving away the wolves, and preserving the sheep, that streams of the blood of Saints have been spilt, &c. Master Cotton replies, belike it is a milky, and peaceable, and Gospel-like Doctrine, that the wolves (*hereticks*) are to be tolerated, not an haire strook from their heads; but for the poor sheep, for whom Christ died, let them perish, unless Christ mean to preserve them alone with his immediate hand, and no care of them belongs to the civil *Magistrate*.

The duty of the civil state in matters of worship.

Truth. I have here in this *discourse* shewed with what honorable and tender *respect* every civil *Magistrate* is bound to honor and tender *Christ Iesus* in his *christian sheep* and *shepherds*, but withall, that it is against *christianity* for the civil *Magistrate* or civil *state*, to imagine that all a whole *nation* was or ever will be called to the *union* of *Gods Spirit* in *communion* with *God* in *Christ*: Also, that it is against *civil justice* for the civil *state* or *officers* thereof to deal so partially in matters of *God*, as to permit to some the freedome of their *consciences* and *worships*, but to curbe and suppress the *consciences* and *souls* of all others of their *free-born* people &c.

Peace. To end this Chapter: whereas it was said, is not this to take *Christ* and to make him a *temporal king* by force? Is not this to make his *kingdom* of this *world*, and to set up a civil and *temporal Israel*? To bound out a new *holy land* of *Canaan*? yea and to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all parts of the *world*, to the speedy destruction of *millions* of *souls*, and to the frustrating of the sweet end of the coming of the *Lord Iesus*, which was to save mens *souls* (and to

that end not to destroy mens bodies) by his own blood.

To this Master Cotton replies, when the *kingdomes* of the *earth* shall become the *kingdomes* of the *Lord* (Rev. 11. [15.]) it is not by making *Christ* a *temporal king*, but by making *temporal kings* nursing fathers to the Church.

Concern-
ing the
kingdomes
of the
world be-
coming the
kingdoms
of Christ
Rev. 11.

Truth. If the *Scripture* [At the sound of the seventh trumpet] which is the last of the great *woes*, when the time of *Gods* wrath shall be come, be to be understood of the *removing* of the *kingdomes* of the *world* unto *Christ*, Master Cotton cannot excuse [140] *Christ Iesus* from being a *temporal king*, and the kings of the earth to be but as inferior and *subordinate officers*: For if they adminster *Christs* *kingdome* temporally, as *deputies*, *officers* or *Ministers* temporally, he is much more then himself a *temporal king* and *Monarch*.

Christ no
temporal
King.

Peace. Methink also, if that committing of all *judgement* to the *Son* (*Iohn* 5. [22.]) be meant of *Temporal judgement* in *spiritual things*, then can he not be said, not to be a *temporal king*, then can he not be said (when those words were spoken and ever since) not to have exercised a *temporal government*. The contrary whereof is most true, both at his first coming, and ever since, in all *generations*, it having been his *portion*, and the *portion* of his *followers* to be judged by this *world*, although *himself* and his judge the *world* *spiritually*, and will shortly pass an *eternal sentence* upon all the children of men.

Peace. Master Cotton addeth, this will not set up a *civil* or *temporal Israel*, unless all the *members* of the *Commonwealth* be compelled to be *members* of the *church*.

Truth. If that will do it then *Christ* must be a *temporal king*, I say then, when the *kingdomes* of the earth shall become the *kingdoms* of the *Lord*, for shall not the *kings* of the *earth* compel all *Christs* *sheep* to submit unto *Christ Iesus* their heavenly *shepherd*?

Peace. Yea secondly, will it not prove that all those *commonweals*, where *men* are compelled *explicitly* or *implicitly* to be *members* of the *church*, are holy lands of *Canaan*, and if so, Oh that Master *Cotton* and other worthy servants of *God*, may timely consider, whether an explicit forcing of all men to come to *church*, because men cannot be denied to be *members* ^{Touching forcing men to} *church*, (at least by implication) with such *members* and *congregations*, with whom they do ordinarily assemble and congregate, although they be injuriously (indeed but injuriously) kept off from *communion* and *participation* of all *ordinances*, which is indeed their *right* and *due* if they be (though but implicitly) constrained and forced to partake of any.

Againe (saith Master *Cotton*) it is no *Spanisb Inquisition* to preserve the *sheep* of *Christ* from the ravening of the *wolves*, but this rather (which is the practice of the *discusser*) to promote the principal end of the *Spanisb inquisition*, to advance the *Romish tyranny*, 141] *idolatry* and *apostacie*, by proclaiming *impunity* to their whorish and wolvisb *emissaries*.

Truth. If the Nations of the world must judge (as they must by Master *Cottons* doctrine) who are *Christs* *sheep*, and who are *wolves*, which is a *whore* (spiritually) and which the true *Spouse* of *Christ*, and accordingly persecute the *whores* and *wolves*, this then

*A Spanish
Inquisition
all the
world.*

they must do according to their *conscience*, or else (as Master Cotton elsewhere) they must suspend. What is this but either to set up a *Spanish inquisition* in all territories, or else to hang up all matters of *religion* (by this *suspension* he speakes of) untill the *civil states* of the *world* become *christian*, and godly, and able to judge, &c. and what is this in effect, but to practise the very thing which he chargeth on the discusser, to wit, a proclaiming an *impunity*, all the world over, except only in some very few and rare places, where some few *godly Magistrates* may be found rightly informed, that is according to his own *conscience* and *religion*.

*A twofold
fire kindled.*

Peace. Yea further (which I cannot without great horror observe) what is this but to give a woful occasion at least to all *Magistrates* in the world (who will not suspend their bloody hands from *persecuting*, until Master Cotton shall absolve them from their *suspension*, and declare them *godly*, and informed, and fit to draw their swords in matters of *religion*) I say occasion (at least) to all the *civil powers* in the *world*, to persecute (as most commonly they have ever done and do) *Christ* himself, the *Son of God* in his poor *Saints* and *servants*.

*That may
consume the
kindlers.*

Truth. Yea, if Master Cotton and his *friends* of his *conscience* should be cast by *Gods providence* (whose *wheels* turn about continually in the depth of his *councils* wonderfully) I say should they be cast under the reach of opposite *swords*, will they not produce Master Cottons own bloody *tenent* and *doctrine* to warrant them (according to their *consciences*) to deal with him as a *wolfe*, an *idolater*, an *heretick*, and as danger-

ous an *emissary* and *seducer* as any whom Master Cotton so accounteth?

But lastly, Master Cotton hath no reason to charge the discusser with an *indulgence* or *partiality* toward *Romish* and *wolvish emissaries*, his judgement and practise is known so far different, that for departing too far from them (as is pretended) he suffers the 142] *brands* and bears the marks of one of *Christs* poor persecuted *hereticks* to this day: All that he pleaded for, is an impartial *liberty* to their *consciences* in *worshipping God* as well as to the *consciences* and *worships* of other their fellow-subjects.

Peace. When *Mathias* the second king of *Hungary, Bohemia &c.* (afterward *Emperor*) granted to his Protestant subjects the *liberty* of their *consciences*,^{Mathias the second Emperor} doubtless it had been neither *prudence* nor justice, to have denied equal *liberty* to all of them impartially.¹ granting liberty of conscience.
But to finish this Chapter, Master Cotton lastly affirmeth, that it is not frustrating of the sweet end of *Christs coming* which was to save *souls*, but rather a direct advancing of it, to destroy (if need be) the *bodies* of those *wolves*, who seek to destroy the *souls* of those for whom *Christ* died, and whom he bought with his own blood.

Truth. The place referred to, was *Luk. 9. [56.]* where the *Lord Jesus* professeth unto the rash zeal of his *Disciples* (desiring that *fire* might come down from heaven upon the *refusers* of *Christ*) that he came not^{Christ came not to destroy}

¹ Matthias, third son of Maximilian II, (1557-1619) in carrying out his policy of wresting the crown from his incapable brother, Rodolph II., was obliged to promise the Protestants equal civil privileges. He was obliged to make concessions which were not altogether agreeable to him. Coxe, *Austria*, ii. 95-108; Schiller, *Thirty Years War*, 24.

*mens bod-
ies, though
to save
their souls.* to destroy mens lives but to save them : from whence it appears that *Christ Jesus* had no such intent (as Master *Cotton* seems to make him to have had) to wit, to save *souls* by destroying of *bodies* : but to save *soul* and *body*, and that for *soul* sake, for *religion* sake, for his sake, the *bodies* of none should be destroyed, but permitted to enjoy a temporal being, which also might prove a means of their *eternal life* and *salvation*, as it may be was the very case of some of those *Samaritans*.

Examination of CHAP. XLIV.

Peace.

*Christian
weapons
considered.* **T**HE next Scripture produced by the prisoner against *persecution* for cause of *conscience* was 2 *Cor.* 10. The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnal*, but mighty through *God*, &c. unto which Master *Cotton* answers, that he speaks not there of *civil Magistrates*.

It was replied, True, for in spiritual things the *civil weapons* were improper, though in *civil* things most proper and suitable.

Master *Cotton* now replying grants, that it is indeed improper [143] for a *Magistrate* to draw his *sword* in matters *spiritual*, yet saith he, about matters spiritual they may, as to *protect* in peace, and to *save* of *disturbers* and *destroyers* of them : And he adds, if it were unfitting for *carpenters* to bring *axes* and *hammers* to build up the spiritual *kingdome* of the

church of Christ, yet their tooles are fit to build *Scaffolds* for *bearing*.

Truth. It is strange, and in my understanding suits not with the rest of Master Cottons discourse, to wit, that which Master Cotton here acknowledgeth, that a *Magistrate* is not to draw his sword in spiritual things, but only about them: when throughout the *discourse* he maintaines, that the *Magistrate* must suppress the *heretick*, *blasphemer*, *idolater*, *seducer*, that he must reforme the *church*, punish the *apostate*, and keep the *church* in her *purity*; which whether they be *spiritual matters* or no, let such as be spiritual judge.

Peace. He is (saith Master Cotton) to draw his sword about spiritual matters, to protect in peace, as a carpenter may build *Scaffolds*, &c.

Truth. If Master Cotton mean *civil* peace, he knows A fallacious distinction of using the civil sword not in, but about spiritual matters. we agree, for all the *officers* of peace and justice ought to attend that *work*. But if he mean *spiritual*, to wit, that by his sword he is to provide, that no man dispute against his *religion*, that no man *preach* nor write against it, let it be well weighed, whether the sword be not now used in spiritual matters: As also whether in such cases and others before mentioned, the *civil Magistrate* be not bound by Master Cottons doctrine to interpose as *Judge* in these *controversies*, to pass *sentence* and to punish whom he judgeth *delinquent*, notwithstanding that both *parties* and both *religions* are *right*, and *righteous* and holy in their own *perswasions* and *consciences*.

Peace. Beside, I know you deny not *civil conveniences* in *Gods worship*, and (therefore when there

is need upon occasion) the help of a *carpenter* to build *Scaffolds*.

*Strange
Carpenters*

Truth. True, but since Master *Cotton* compares the work of the *Magistrate* to the building of a *carpenters Scaffold*, let us in the fear of *God* consider, if this *similitude* (like some *Scaffolds*) be not all too weak, whereon to hazard so mighty a *weight* and *burthen*: For what should we think of such a *carpenter*, that [144] after he hath built his *Scaffold* for people more conveniently to hear the word of *God*, suffers no man to *preach* in the whole *country* (where his *Scaffolds* are set up) but whom he pleaseth, nor no *doctrine* to be taught but what he liketh; no *church* to be gathered, no persons to make up this *church*, no persons to receive the *Sacrament* but what he approves of: yea and further, with broad *axes* and *hammers*, and other tooles of *violence*, should compel all persons (directly or indirectly) to come to *church*, to make use of his *Scaffold* &c. Whether this be not the true *state* of the *business*, the *Carpenters Son Christ Jesus* will shortly more and more discover, and break, and tumble down those painted *Scaffolds* and fairest *boufes*, which are not built and framed according to the first most blessed *line* and *rule* of his holy *institution* and *appointments*.

Examination of CHAP. XLV.

Peace.

UPON the unfitnes (alleadged) of *spiritual weapons* to batter a *natural* or *artificial* hold, and conse-

quently the unfitnes of *natural* and *carnal* weapons to batter the *spiritual* strong holds in the heart, Master Cotton replies, that he allows not the *civil* state to make use of their civil weapons to batter down *idolatry* and *heresie* in the souls of men: But if (saith he) the *idolater* or *heretick* grow obstinate, worse and worse, deceiving himself, &c. Now, he maketh not use of *stocks* and *whips* (which will but exasperate the *malady*) but of *death* and *banishment*, that may cut him off from the opportunity of spreading his *leaven*, &c.

Truth. Methinks in this passage, Master Cotton resembleth an armed man, who being almost convinced, or overcome by the *Spirit* of *God* in the former part of this passage (granting how improper and unfit *carnal weapons* be in *spiritual* matters) yet being loath to yeeld, and holding up the goodness of his cause, he recovers again, and grows more fierce and violent: for bearing more gentle stroaks of *stocks* and *whips*, he cuts deeper with no les then quick and dreadful gashings of *death* or *Banishment*, that the world (were he one of the *worlds Monarchs*) may be rid of such *idolaters*, *hereticks*, &c.

145] *Peace.* Oh, How can Master Cotton wash this *Tenent* from *blood*!

Truth. Yea whether this *tenent* be not invented (as *All civil violence in* once that learned *chancellor* of *England* said of all *violence against conscience*) for an *end* or *interest*: or as *spirituals, is for in-* (that incarnate *devil*) the *Pope* said more plainly of *interest*.

1 "It was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded preasure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends." Bacon, *Of Unity in Religion*, *Works*, i. 13, Montague's edition.

the *fable* of *Christ*, for *honor* and *profit*, shall further be examined.

Peace. But who can read the *bloody colour* in this *book*, and yet believe what Master *Cotton* elsewhere saith, that he holds not *persecution* for *cause* of *conscience*?

Truth. Lastly I aske, whether is it not the same skill and *power* of *Physick* and *Surgery*, that preserves the *body* and each member in *health* and *welfare*, with that which cuts off (as Master *Cotton* speaks) the *Gangrene* &c? and (since also tis in vaine to go about when the next way is as good or better) what means then Master *Cotton* to bring in the *Magistrate* using *spiritual* means in all lenity and *wisdom*e against *heresie* and *idolatry* in the souls of men, since *death* or *banishment* will effect the *cure* so quickly.

Peace. To proceed, whereas it was urged, that although *civil weapons* were proper in *spiritual* matters, yet they were not *necessary* &c. Master *Cotton* replies, this is but a meer *pretence*, because the discusser (saith he) denies all Church officers and Church *weapons*.

*Christs
spiritual
weapons
never
wanting.*

Truth. This formerly was cleared from all appearance of *pretence* because during all the *reign* of the *beast* the discusser granteth the impregnable *power* of the *spiritual weapons* of *Christs* witnesses, *Rev.* 11. although he see not extant the true form and order of the *kingdome* of *Christ Jesus* which at first he was pleased to establish.¹

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, Although *spiritual weapons* are mighty to purge out *leaven*, and to mortifie the *flesh* of offenders, yet that is not a *superfedeas*

¹ See 202d page, *supra*.

to *civil Magistrates* to neglect to punish those sins, which the *church* hath censured, if the person censured do proceed to subvert the *truth* of the *Gospel*, or the *peace* of the *church*, or the *souls* of the *people*

Truth. Why must the *Magistrate* stay until the party censured do proceed so and so? Why could not he have spared the drawing [146] forth of any spiritual weapons, since they are so effectual to do that which was not in the power and reach of the *spiritual*? Why was not the first *obstinacy* (which merited the spiritual *stroaks* and *censures*) worthy of the exercise of the *civil Magistrates* power and zeale?

The civil sword esteemed more powerful then the spiritual.

Peace. Me thinks this is an evident demonstration that men repose more confidence (however they deceive themselves to the contrary) in the *sword* of *steel* that hangs by the side of the *civil officer*, then in the two-edged sword proceeding out of the mouth of *Christ Jesus*, Rev. 1. [16.]

Truth. The truth is, such doctrine makes *Christs* *spiritual sword* but *serviceable* and *subordinate* unto the *temporal* or worldly powers: and presents the *church* but making *effayes* and *trials* of that cure which *death* and *banishment* (gilded over with pretence of Gods glory, &c.) they think will not faile to effect, &c.

Peace. More plainly therefore writes another *Author* (of Master Cottons mind) thus: It is known by experience that one *reproof* or *threatning* from the *Magistrate*, hath been known to do more then an hundred *admonitions* from the *Minister*.

Truth. Yea no question, to force a *nation* or a *world* of men to play the *idolaters*, *hypocrites*, &c. but

Gods true servants (of whom these three famous *Jews* are type, *Dan.* 3. [17.]) know that *God* whom they serve is able to deliver them from such fiery *threatnings* and executions. But if he please to try them (as his *gold*) in such *fiery tryals*, they will not bow down to invented *gods* or *worships*.

Peace. Methinks (dear truth) such *Ministers* deal upon the point and in effect with the *civil Magistrate*, just as that *ambitious Pope* with the *Emperors*, to wit, make them hold the *stirrop* while they mount, &c.¹ But I grieve, &c. What think you therefore of *Master Cottons* censure of the rest of the discourse in this Chapter, to wit, that it is but (as *Jude* speaks) *clouds* without *waters*, *words* without *matter*, &c.

Truth. I will say no more, but this, Happily (through *Gods* mercy) *Master Cottons* censure may occasion some to view what he despiseth, yea and happily to finde some heavenly *drops* out of those contemned empty *clouds*.

147] *Examination of* CHAP. XLVI.

Peace.

Rom. 13. *Considered* **T**HE 13 to the *Rom.* which the *answerer* quotes, is a *fort* of of such importance, in so many *controversies* depending between the *Papist* and *Protestant*, and between many *Protestants* among themselves,

¹ Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarossa, met at Venice July 24th, 1177, to close the strife of the Popes with the imperial house of Hohenstaufen. When

the Pope left St. Marks the Emperor held his stirrup as he mounted. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, iii. 537.

that all seek to gaine and win it : In this present controverſive I finde a wonderful *wreſting* of this holy Scripture even by many holy and peaceable (though herein violent and ſinful) hands : and let the charge be examined in the fear of *God*, whether ſlanderous (as Maſter *Cotton* intimates) or true and righteous.

Maſter *Cotton* freely grants, that this 13 to the *Rom.* exhorteth unto *ſubjection* to *Magiſtrates*, and love to all men, which are *duties* of the ſecond table : But yet withal he answers, that it will not follow that *Magiſtrates* have nothing to do with the *violation* of the *firſt table* ; and further ſaith, that it is a plaine caſe that amongſt the *duties* of the *ſecond table*, people may be exhorted to honor their *Magiſtrates*, and *children* may be exhorted to honour their *Parents* ; but will it (ſaith he) thence follow, that *Magiſtrates* have nothing to do with matters of religion in the *church*, or parents in the *family* ?

Truth. I answer, the *ſcope* of the *diſcourſe* was to prove, that it pleaſeth the *Spirit* of *God* in *Paul* here only to treat of the duties of the *ſecond table*, unto which *limitation* or *reſtriction* Maſter *Cotton* ſpeaks not at all, but only granteth in general, that it ſpeaketh of the *duties* of the *ſecond table* : And I ſtill urge and argue, that the *ſpirit* of *God* diſcourſing ſo largely in this Scripture of the *duties* of *Magiſtrates* and people, and treating only of *civil* things, in that *civil relation* between *Magiſtrates* and people, points as with a finger of *God* at their *error*, that wreſt this Scripture to maintaine the power of *Magiſtrates* and *civil ſtates* in the *ſpiritual* and *church eſtate* of the *kingdome* of *Chriſt*.

The great
fort of
The civil
Magiſtrate
not charged
with the
keeping of
the ſecond
tables.

Peace. But what may be said to Master Cottons argument?

Truth. I answer If people are bound to yeeld *obedience* in *civil* things to *civil officers* of the *state*, *Christians* are much more bound to yeeld *obedience* (according to *God*, to the *spiritual officers* [148] of *Christs kingdome*: But how weak is this argument to prove that therefore the *civil officers* of the *state* are constituted *rulers* or *governors*, *preservers* and *reformers* of the *Christian* and *spiritual state*, which differs as much from the *civil*, as the *heavens* are out of the reach of this earthly *Globe* and *Element*?

Examination of CHAP. XLVII.

Peace.

*Calvin and
Beza's
judgement
on Rom.
13.*

Against the Judgement of those blessed *worthies* alleadged, (*Calvin* and *Beza*) confining this passage of *Rom. 13.* to the *second table*, Master Cotton here opposeth their judgement for the *Magistrates* power in matters of *religion* in other writings of theirs, yea and from this very *Scripture*.

Truth. This their judgement for the *Magistrates* power was granted and premised before; yet let the *expressions* of those *worthy men* (produced by the *discusser* on this Chapter) be faithfully weighed, and it will cleerly appear, that (as *James* speaks) those excellent men endeavoured to bring from the same

*fountaines sweet water and bitter, which is monstrous and contradictory.*¹

Peace. The pith of what Master Cotton further saith in this Chapter, I conceive is couched in these demands: Are not (saith he) all *duties of righteousness* to man commanded in the *second table*, as well as all *duties of holiness* to God are commanded in the *first table*? Is it not a *duty of righteousness* belonging to the people of God, to enjoy the free passage of *religion*? &c. Is it not an injurious dealing to the people of God, to disturbe the truth of *religion* with *heresie*, the *holiness* of *worship* with *idolatry*, the *purity* of *government* with *tyranny*? and he concludes, If so, then these wayes of *unrighteousness* are justly punishable by the *second table*.

¹ Williams quoted from the Commentaries of Calvin and Beza to sustain his view of Romans xiii. See *Bloody Tenent*, 75-76, *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 153-155. Cotton replies, "how farre off Calvin's Judgement was to restraine Civill Magistrates from meddling in matters of Religion, let him interpret himselfe in his own words (in his *opuscula*) in his Answer to Servetus, who was put to death for his Heresies at Geneva by his procurement. This one thing (saith he) sufficeth me, that by the coming of Christ neither was the State of Civill Government changed: nor anything taken away from the Magistrate's office. Goe to then, that which Paul teacheth (Rom. 13. 4.) that he beareth not the Sword in vaine, ought it to be restrained to one kind onely? they themselves confesse with whom I have to deale, the Magistrates are armed of God to punish open crimes, so that they abstaine from

matter of religion, that so ungodlinesse may run riot by their connivance. But the Holy Ghost crieth out against this in many places, &c." "Heare now how Beza interpreteth the same Text in his Booke entitled *De Hæreticis, à Magistratu puniendis*. Paul witnesseth saith he, that the Magistrate is God's Minister, who beareth the Sword to take vengeance on them that doe evill, Rom. 13. 4. wherefore one of these two must needs be, If Magistrates should have no just power over Hereticks, either that Hereticks are not evill doers (which is so grosse, that I thinke, it needs no Refutation) or else that Pauls speech is to be restrained to a certaine sort of evill deeds, to wit, such as they call corporall finnes: of which distinction of evill deeds, I shall dispute more largely hereafter." *Bloody Tenent Washed*, 97-100. Cotton makes reference to both these works in his *Answer* to the Prisoner's Arguments. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 52.

*Unright-
eousness
civil and
spiritual.*

*Spiritual
wars with-
out civil
disturb-
ance.*

Truth. I answer, It hath pleased the *Father* of *lights* to open the eyes of thousands of his servants in these later times to discern a fine spun fallacy in the term of *unrighteousness* and injury which being two-fold *spiritual* against *religion* or *spiritual state*, and 149] *civil* against the *worldly* or *civil state*: It is no *civil injury* (which he grants is the business of this 13 to the *Romanes* in matters of the *second table*) for any man to disturbe or oppose a *doctrine*, *worship* or *government spiritual*: *Christ Jesus* and his *messengers* and servants did, and do profess a *spiritual war* against the *doctrine*, *worship* and *government* of the *Jewish* the *Turkish* and other *Pagan* and *Antichristian religions* of all *sorts* and *sects*, *churches* and *societies*: These all againe oppose and fight against his *doctrine*, *worship*, *government*: And yet this war may be so managed (were men but humane *civil* and peaceable) that no *civil injury* may be committed on either side.

Peace. We may then well take up (as Master *Cotton* doth) *Beza's* own words on *Rom.* 13. 4. The *civil sword* must take vengeance on them that do *evil*: It must therefore follow that *hereticks* are not *evil doers* (which is gross, &c.) Or else that *Pauls* speech is to be restrained to a certaine sort of evil deeds, to wit, such as they call *corporal sins*, of which he saith, he disputeth largely, elsewhere.

Truth. And so (through the help of the most *high*) shall I, in proving, that the second sort, to wit, *external*, *corporal*, *civil evils* between *man* and *man*, *city* and *city*, *kingdomes* and *Nations* (in this fallen estate of mankind, wherein all *civility*, and *humanity* it self are

violated) are alone, and only intended in this *Scripture* by the holy Spirit of God and *Paul* his penman.

Examination of CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace.

TO the second argument, to wit, the *incompetency* of those *higher powers* to which *Paul* requires *subjection*, which in his time were the ignorant and Pagan persecuting Emperors, and their subordinate governors under them, Master Cotton replies.

First, It is one thing to yeeld subjection to the righteous decrees of ignorant and Pagan Magistrates: And another thing to obey their ordinances in matters of faith and worship, and government of the church: The former of these, Christians did [150] yeeld unto the *Romane Magistrates*, even *subjection* unto the death; the other they did not, nor ought to yeeld, as knowing God was rather to be obeyed then man.

Truth. *Subjection* may be either to lawful governors, or but pretenders and usurpers: Again *subjection* to lawful rulers may be in cases pertaining to their cognizance, or in cases which belong not to their, but another court or tribunal; which undue proceeding is not tolerable in all well-ordered states.

We use also to say, that *subjection* is either *active* or *passive*: Now although we finde the Lord requiring and his servants yeelding, all *active* or *passive* obedience to the *Romane Emperors*, and their deputies, yet finde we not a tittle of the *Lords* requiring, or his people yeelding any kind of *subjection* to those Ro-
The nature of twice subjection to civil powers.

mane Emperors or their deputies in the matters of Christian religion except it be of so many hundred thousand of their *bodies*, as the bodies of *Lambs* to the devouring jaws of those *bloody lyons* and *devillish Monsters*, of more then barbarous cruelty.

Of the Roman Emperors power in spirituals.

Peace. But (Secondly, saith Master Cotton) although the *Roman Emperors* were incompetent *Judges*, yet the *Word of Christ* which commandeth a duty, commandeth also the necessary means which tend to that duty, and therefore giving them a power and charge to execute vengeance on evil doers, and that in matters of spiritual unrighteousness against the Church, as in matters of civil unrighteousness against the Commonweal, it behooved them to try and listen after the true Religion, to heare and try all.

Truth. Master Cotton may here be intreated to take notice of his own *distinction* of *unrighteousness* (which a little before he seemed to me to forget) for here he rightly distinguisheth between *spiritual matters* of *unrighteousness* against the *church*, and *civil unrighteousness* against the *Commonweal*: I therefore urge (as before) that the *civil Magistrate*, although he punish (according to his *civil place* and calling) *civil unrighteousness* against the *state*, yet he hath no *warrant* from Master Cottons argument, nor any from the *Lord Iesus Christ*, to punish *spiritual unrighteousness* against the *church*, and why then should that term of *unrighteousness* so generally and fallaciously go undistinguished, and Master Cotton thus promiscuously proclaime *idolatry* is *unrighteousness*, *heresie* is *unrighteousness*, and therefore the *civil Magistrate* is bound to punish, &c?

151] 2. But oh that this *maxime* alleadged by Master Cotton might receive its due *weight* and *consideration*! hath *Christ* commanded all means, as well as the *duty*? what then is the *reason* that since (as Master Cotton argues) that *Christ* hath commanded all the *civil powers* of the *world* such a *spiritual duty*, and yet (I say) that all or most of the *civil states* of the *world*, (beyond comparifon) are not furnished by *Christ* with those chief *means*, of *grace* and *light*, whereby to *try* and *search*, as Master Cotton exhorteth? Or (in some few places, where means of *light* are vouchsafed) with *hearts* and *spirits* unto such a duty? May we not here say, that men make *Christ Jesus* (in appointing such officers, such a duty, without furnishing them accordingly) to forget that *maxime* of his Type *Solomon* (*Prov.* 26. [6.]) He that sendeth a *message* by the hand of a *fool*, cutteth off the *leg*, and drinketh *dammage*? Did not *Christ* know (as well as *John*) that all the *world* lay in *wickedness*, that all the *world* (in a respect) was then *Roman Paganish*, and that all the *world* in after ages would wonder after the *beast*, and become *Roman Popish*? Or can we imagine that *Christ Jesus* did not foresee the cutting off of *legs*, and the cup of *dammage* and loss which he must drink, in sending his minde and will into the world by such foolish *instruments*?

Peace. Surely Master Cotton would never advise the *civil state* ty [to] send a weighty *cause*, and the *lives* of *souldiers* with such *captaines*: Nor will he set an unruly *childe* under the *rod* of such *teachers* or *reformers*: He will not set forth his *Farme* or betrust his *cattel*, no not his very *bogs* to such keepers.

Foule imputations against Christ Jesus.

Christ permitteb Tyrants over his churches Saints, but appointeth none but his true spiritual Ministers.

*Christ
Jesus his
careful and
most wise
provision
for his
kingdome.*

Truth. On the other hand, let the *government of Christs kingdome* be laid upon the right *shoulders*, and we shall finde the admirable *wisdome* and *care* of *Christ*, in the *affaires* of his *kingdom*, in appointing such *messengers* or *Apostles* to gather and found his *churches*, as also ordinary *Pastors*, *Shepherds*, or *teachers*, for their feeding and building up, &c.

The qualification of these the *Spirit of God* hath expressly and exactly recorded, wherein (according to the *principle* mentioned by Master Cotton) *Christ Jesus* his highest *care* and *wisdome* shines most gloriously in appointing the *means* as well as the *duty* it self.

Peace. But Master Cotton addeth, that the *causes of religion*, [152] wherein we allow the *civil Magistrate* to be *Judges*, are so *fundamental* and palpable, that no Magistrate studious of Religion in the fear of God, cannot but judge: such as cannot, they ought to forbear, &c. the exercise of their power, either in protecting or punishing matters of Religion till they learn so much knowledge of the truth, as may inable them to discern of things that differ. This forbearance of theirs (saith he) is not for want of authority in their callings, nor for want of duty in their consciences, but want of evidence to them in the cause: In which case Magistrates are wont to forbear their exercise of power and judgement even in civil cases.

Truth. O the miserable *allowance* which Master Cotton hath brought the *kings* and *governors* of the *world* unto! *We allow them* (saith he) *to judge in such fundamentals and palpable causes*, &c. Oh with what *proud* and domineering feet do all *Popes* tread upon

the necks even of the highest kings and Emperors! The
 The Magistrate must wait at their gates for their ^{The}
 poor allowance: They shall judge, and they shall not ^{Cleargies}
 judge: They shall judge that which is gross and pal- ^{civil deal-}
 pable, and enough to hold the people in slavery, and ^{ing with}
 to force them to sacrifice to the Priests belly; but the ^{the civil}
 more sublime and nicer mysteries they must not judge ^{Magistrate}
 or touch, but attend upon the tables of the Priests
 infallibility.

Peace. Concerning fundamentals (dear truth) you ^{The nature}
 have well observed, that since the apostacy, and the ^{of a church}
 worlds wondring after the beast, even Gods servants ^{but lately}
 themselves (untill yesterday) have not so much as ^{discovered}
 heard of such a kind of church (and so consequently ^{since the}
 of such a Christ the head of it) as Master Cotton now ^{apostasie.}
 professeth: For, no other matter and forme of a church
 (about which Master Cotton justly contends) was
 known I say among Gods people themselves, (till
 yesterday) then the matter and form of the stone or
 wooden Parish-church.

Truth. Yea an happy man were Mr. Cotton could
 he rectifie and settle those foundations which are yet
 so controverted amongst Gods servants, to wit, the
 Doctrine of Baptismes, and laying on of hands.

Peace. You may also mention other foundations,
 which want not their great disputes among the ser-
 vants of Christ.

Truth. But further, that Christ Jesus the wisdom
 of the [153] Father, should commit his wife, his
 church, to be governed in his absence by such who
 generally know not the church and Saints but cruelly
 and blasphemously persecute them with fire and sword,

*Monstrous
Suspensions*

and this with *charge* to suspend most *Magistrates* of the *world*, and that all their dayes from *generation* to *generation*, as appeareth in all parts of the *world* which is such a *monstrous* and *blasphemous Paradox*, that *common reason* cannot digest, nor suffer.

Peace. If *Merchants* and *owners* of *ships* should commit their *vessels* to such men as wanted *ability* to *steer* their *courfès*, nay could not tell what a *ship* was, yea were never like to know all their dayes, surely it were not only matter of *admiration*, but even of *laughter* and *derision*, among all the sons of men.

*Spiritual
courts and
Judges.*

Truth. But further, How weak is that *distinction* which Master Cotton makes between *authority* of *calling*, and *duty* and *evidence* in the *cause*, when in all *judicatures* in the whole world, even amongst the *Pagans*, there is necessarily supposed beside these three, a fourth, to wit, *ability* or skill of *discerning* or judging in such *cases*: Now *cognizance* of the *cause* or *evidence* of the *cause* may be wanting in most able judges, where matters are not *proper* or not *ripe* for *bearing* and *trials*; whereas our dispute is of the very *ability* or *skil* of judging, which Master Cotton himself confesseth is wanting, except in such *Magistrates* as *fear God*, which will be found to be but a little *flock*, especially compared with the many thousands and ten thousands of those who neither know *God* nor *Christ*, nor care to know them, and this in all the *states*, *regions* and *civil governments* of the *world*.

154]

Examination of CHAP. XLIX.

Peace.

Concerning *Pauls* appeale to *Cæsar*, it was argued that *Paul* appealed to *Cæsar* even in *spiritual* things; which that *Paul* did not nor could not do without the committing of five great *evils*, was pleaded in this Chapter, Master *Cotton* replies no more but this, The *reasons* are but *Bulrushes*.

Truth. Whether they are so or no, or rather the *Bulrushes* and weak things of *God*, which the gates of hell shall never be able to shake, let the *Saints* judge in the fear of *God*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds* further in this Chapter, that *Paul* pleadeth he was not guilty in any of those things whereof the *Jews* accused him: those things (saith he) concerned the *Law* of the *Jews* and the *Temple*, which were matters of *religion*; and for trial thereof, he appealed to *Cæsar*.

Truth. *Lyfias* the chief captaine in his letter to *Felix* the Governor (Chap. 24.) distinguisheth (verf. 29.) into *questions* of the *Jews*, *Law*, and (secondly) matters worthy of *death* or *bonds*: Now tis true the *Jews* charged *Paul* with offences against *religion*, their *Law* and the *Temple*: Secondly, against the *civil state*, and with *sédition*. For the first, although it is apparent that all the scope of *Pauls* preaching, was to exalt *Christ Jesus*, and to preach down *Moses* *Law*; yet at this present time of his apprehension, he had seen cause to honour *Moses* his *institution* at *Jerusalem* (which was the wisdom of *God* in him for a season, for the *Jews* sake, and his own *glory*-

Touching Paul appealing to Cæsar.

ſake :) And he had not at this preſent ſo much as diſputed with any in the *temple* (which was not ſo hainous a matter in *Pauls* eye, as it is well known by his conſtant practice.) Secondly, for *matters of civil crime*, he pleadeth that he ſtirred up no man, not in the *Synagogue* nor *City*, and profeſſeth (Chap. 25.) that if he had committed ought worthy of *death*, he would not *wave* death: Tis true that *Paul* was charged by the *Iews* with both theſe kinds of offence, *religious* and *civil* (according to *Lyſius* his *diſtinction*) but that *Paul* appealed to *Cæſar* for *tryal*, that is, for *trial* of his *perſon* and *cauſe* in any *religious* reſpect, as it cannot be collected from the *Scripture* or 155] *Pauls* own words: ſo thoſe five reaſons againſt it, will evidently diſprove it, if they be well and thoroughly weighed in the *balance* of the *Sanctuary* in the ſight and fear of *God*.

*Pauls ap-
peal to
Cæſar.*

Peace. I cannot in my underſtanding clear *Maſter Cottons* own words from deſtroying one another. Tis true (ſaith he) thoſe five ſins might have been charged upon *Paul* with ſome colour, if he had appealed to *Cæſar* whether his *religion* or *Miniftery*, or *Miniſtration* were of *God* or no? But yet (ſaith he) he might appeal whether his *religion*, *Miniftry* or *Miniſtration* were guilty of any *capital crime* againſt the *Law* of the *Iews*, or the *temple*, or againſt *Cæſar*.

Truth. Indeed what difference is there between the judging whether this *Miniftery* deſerve death (ſuppoſing a falſe *Miniftery* is worthy of *death*) or judging whether it be of *God*, or *falſe* and *idolatrous*? muſt not he that ſits judge of the *deſert* and *puniſhment*, judge alſo of the *crime* and fact, whether ſo or no?

Peace. When Master Cotton shall affirme (and truly) that the *Magistrates* of *Israel* were to judge a false *prophet* to death, will he not also grant that they were to judge whether such persons so charged were false *prophets* or no?

Truth. Yea, and when Master Cotton shall affirme (as unjustly) that *civil Magistrates* in all *nations* of the world ought to kill or banish *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, out of their *dominions* and *jurisdictions*, doth he intend that they shall try and examine, whether they be such and such or no? But blessed be the *Father* of *lights*, who hath now opened the eyes of so many thousands of his people to discern the difference between the *Forts* and *Bulwarks* of God, here called *Bulrushes*, and those *strong holds* and high *imaginations* of men (erected against the *crown* and *kingdome* of the *Lord Iesus*) which in Gods holy season shall more and more be found to be but *straws* and *Bulrushes*.

156]

Examination of CHAP. L.

Peace.

TO the arguing against the *Magistrates civil* power in *Spiritual* causes taken from the *nature* of the *Magistrates* weapons (a *material* earthly and worldly sword, distinguished from the two-edged sword of *Christs spiritual* power in the mouth of *Christ*) Master Cotton replies,

First, the *Magistrate* must governe his people in *Righteousness*, and it is *Righteous* to defend his people

in their *Spiritual* Rights, as well as in their *civil* Rights.

*Spiritual
rights and
civil.*

This *distinction* of *spiritual* and *civil* *Righteousness* doth truly anatomize the cause; It is righteous for the *Magistrates* to defend their *subjects* in their *civil* *Rights*, for it is within the compass of his *calling*, being essentially *civil*: And unless we also grant him a *spiritual* *calling* and *office* (which is the Point denied) 'tis beyond his *calling* and compass to judge of what is *spiritual* *Right* and *wrong*, and accordingly to pass a *spiritual* sentence, and execute and inflict *spiritual* punishment.

*The civil
Magistrate
not bound
to defend
spiritual
rights.*

Peace. Methinks I may add, if the *Magistrate* be bound to defend his *Subjects* in their *spiritual* rights, then as he is bound impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their several and respective *civil* *Rights*, so is he bound as impartially to defend all his *subjects* in their several and respective *spiritual* *Rights*; and so accordingly to defend the *Jews*, the *Papists*, and all several sorts of *Protestants* in their severall and respective *consciences*; or else, he must sit down in *Christs* stead, and produce a *Royal* charter from the *New Testament* of *Christ Iesus* to judge definitively which is the onely right, to pass sentence, and execute *spiritual* punishment on all offenders, &c.

Peace. But Master *Cotton* adds a second, the sword was *Material* and civil in the *Old Testament*.

I answer, If Master *Cotton* granted a *national church* under the Gospel, his Argument were good; but when he grants that *national church* under the *Jews* (as afterward in this chapter he doth) did type out the *Christian church* or churches in the Gospel, why

must he not grant that material Sword of the *Church of Israel* [157] types out the *spiritual sword* of *Christ Iesus*, proceeding out of his mouth, and cutting off offenders *spiritually* with *spiritual* and soul-punish-^{*Israel a type of the Christian Church.*}ments? And I add, As the sword was *material*, so also was the *Tabernacle* and *Temple* worldly and *material*; which he denies not to be typical of the *spiritual Temple of Christ* and his *Church* in the New Testament.

Peace. Master Cotton adds (Thirdly) that the *Magistrates Sword* may well be call'd the *Sword of God*, as the *Sword of War*, *Iudg.* 7. [18.]

Truth. As it was call'd *Iehovahs Sword* in that typical Land; So must it needs be typical as well as the Land it self, which is also called by the Prophets, ^{*The true and onely Christendome.*} *Iehovah's Land*, *Emanuel's land*; which names and titles I think Master Cotton will not say are competent and applicable to any other *Lands* or *Countries* under the *Gospel*, but onely to the *Spiritual Canaan* or *Israel*, the *Church* and people of *God*, the true and onely *Christendome*.

Peace. But (Fourthly) saith he, they are called *Gods*, and shall they not attend *Gods* work?

Truth. In the state of *Israel* they were *Gods* deputies to attend the causes of *Israel*, the then onely *Church of God*: But Master Cotton can produce no parallel to that, but the *Christian Churches* and people of *God*, not *national* but *Congregational*, &c.

2. Grant the *Magistrates* to be as *Gods*, or strong ones in a *Resemblance* to *God* in all *Nations* of the world, yet that is still within the compass of their calling, which being confessed to be *essentially civil*,

the *civil work* of these servants of the *Commonweal* is Gods work, as well as *Paul* calls (in a fence) the work of the servants of the *Family*, Gods work, for which he pays the wages, *Eph.* 5. [vi: 5, 6.]

Lastly, for *spiritual* causes we know the *Lord Iesus* is call'd *God*, *Psal.* 45. [6.] *Heb.* 1. [8.] whose *Scepter* and *Kingdome* being essentially *spiritual*, the *administrations* which he hath appointed are also *spiritual*, and of an heavenly and fowl *Nature*.

Peace. Master *Cotton* (Fifthly) adds, *Revel.* 17. [xi: 15.] The *Kingdoms* of the *World* are become the *Kingdoms* of the *Lord*, and of his *Christ*.

Truth. How the *Kingdomes* of the *World* shall become the *Kingdomes* of *Christ*, is no final *mystery* and *controversie*; but [158] grant it to be true, that either *Christ Iesus* personally, or by his *Deputies* the *Saints*, shall rule all the *Nations* of the *world* in hearing and determining all *civil Controversies*: Yet why doth Master *Cotton* draw an Argument from this *Prophecie*, of what shall be in one *Age* or *Time* of the *World*, and to come, to prove an *Universal power* and *Exercise* of such power in all *Ages* and *times* since *Christ Iesus* his first comming to this day?

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cotton* may as well argue, that because it was prophesied that a *Virgin* should conceive, and bring forth a child in Gods appointed season, that therefore all *Virgins* must so conceive and so bring in forth all *ages* of the *world*.

But, (Lastly) saith Master *Cotton*, although the *nations* have not that typical *holiness* which the nation of *Israel* had; Yet all the *Churches* of the *Saints* have as much truth and realty of *holiness* as *Israel*

had: And therefore, what holy care of *Religion* lay upon the *Kings* of *Israel* in the *Old Testament*, the same lyeth now upon *Christian Kings* in the *New Testament*, to protect the same in their Churches.

Truth. Oh how neer the precious *Iewels*, and *Bar-*^{*Christ*}
gains of *Truth*, come sometimes Gods *Saints*, and yet ^{*Jesus in*}
 miss of the finding and going through with it! The ^{*himself and*}
churches of the *New Testament*, Master *Cotton* grants ^{*his spirit-*}
 succeed the *Church* of *Israel*; The *Kings* and *Gov-*^{*ual officers*}
ernours therefore of the *churches* of *Christ* must suc- ^{*the onely*}
 ceed those *Kings*. What *King* and *Governours* of ^{*Key of*}
Israel are now to be found in the *Gospel*, but *Christ*
Iesus and his *Servants*, deputed in his absence, which
 are all of a *spiritual* consideration? What is this to
 the *Nations*, *Kings*, and *Governours* of the world;
 where few *Kings*, few *Nobles*, few *Wise*, are cald to
 profess *Christ*? Is not *Christ Iesus* the onely *King*
 of *Israel*; and are not all his holy ones made *Kings*
 and *Priests* unto *God*? And unto his *Saints*, and his
spiritual officers *Administration* in the midst of them,
 is his *Kingdomes* power committed in his absence.
 This *spiritual* power, however the *Pope* and *prelates*,
Kings and *Princes*, *Parliaments* and *General Courts*,
 and their respective *Officers* of *Justice* (to be hon-
 oured and obeyed in *civil things*,) I say however they ^{*Christ*}
 have challenged and assumed this *Kingly Power* of ^{*Jesus robd*}
 the *Son of God*, yet the *King of Kings*, *Christ Iesus* ^{*of his*}
 hath begun to discover, and will never leave until he ^{*crown.*}
 hath made it clear as [159] the *Sun Beames*, that he
 is robd of his *crown*, and will shake, and break, all
 the *nations* and *Powers* of the world until his *Heav-*
enly crown be again restored.

Examination of CHAP. LI.*Peace.*

TO the fourth *Argument* (Rom. 13. [6. 7.]) from the *civil rewards* due to *Magistrates*; to wit, *custome, Tribute, &c.* Master *Cotton* replies, That even the *contributions* of the *Saints*, are called *carnal* things; *Of custome* shall therefore their work be called *carnal*? It is true *tribute,* (saith he) the *contributions* of the *Saints* are called *holy*, because they are given to God for his service about holy things; So the *reward* given to *Magistrates*, is for their service about *Righteous* things: And it is righteous (saith he) to preserve the purity of *Doctrine, VVorship, and Government*, which if *Magistrates* do not, they do not deserve all their *wages*.

Truth. It is true that *money* or *monies-worth* is the same for value in the *contribution* of the *Saints*, and in that of *custome, tribute, &c.*; and yet Master *Cotton* grants a *Holiness* of the *Saints contribution*, which he doth not affirme of *custome, tribute, &c.*

Spiritual There is also a two fold way disputed, of preserv-
defence for ing of the purity of *Doctrines, worship, &c.*
spiritual First, That which I plead for, by *spiritual weapons*
right, &c. appointed by *Christ Iesus*.

Secondly, that of *Civil weapons, Force of Armes, &c.* which Master *Cotton* affirms, and I deny to be ever appointed by *Christ Iesus*, or able to accomplish a *spiritual* end, but the Contrary.

Peace. Me thinks Master *Cottons* addition, not a little concernes my self in the peace of all Citties and *Kingdomes*: for if (as Master *Cotton* saith) *Magistrates* shall not deserve all their *wages* except they preserve

the *purity* of *Doctrin*e, *worship*, &c. (which upon the point is that *Doctrin*e *Worship* and *Government* *Master Cotton* approves of) what is this (in effect) but to deny *tribute*, *custome*, *subsidies*, &c. to *Cæsar*, the *Kings* and *Governours* of the *Earth*, if they prove *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*? &c. I cannot see, but [160] this in *plaine English* tendeth to little les than the *Popish bloody Doctrin*e of deposing *heretical Kings*, &c.

But *Master Cotton* further adds, that *spiritual wages* ^{*Touching*} are to be paid to *Magistrates*, 1 *Tim.* 2. [1. 2.] to wit, ^{*prayer for*} *Prayers*, *Intercessions*, &c. If therefore (saith he) the ^{*all author- ity.*} *Magistrates* suffer their *Subjects* to live a quiet life in ^{2.} *ungodliness* and *Dishonesty*, the *Magistrate* falls short of returning *spiritual* recompence for the *spiritual Duties* and *services* performed for them.

Truth. Those prayers are not the proper *wages* paid to *Magistrates* for their work; for then should they not be paid (as the *Spirit of God* there exhorteth) to all men, whether *Magistrates* or not.

Peace. And I may add, nor paid to those *Magistrates* that are *Idolatrous*, *Blasphemous*, *Persecutors*: But those *prayers* were to be poured forth for such *Magistrates* (such as most of the *Magistrates* in the *world* then were and are.) Those prayers then were a general *Duty* to be paid to all men, and especially to the *chiefe* and *principal*, *Kings* and all that are in *Authority*.

Truth. Now further, wherein it is said, that such *Magistrates* as suffer the people to live in *ungodliness*, fall short in returning *spiritual* *Recompence*: I ^{*Grofs*} answer, By this *Doctrin*e, most of the free *Inhabitants* of the *world*, who live in ignorance of *God*, and ^{*Slavery.*}

in abominable *Religions* without him, must yet be supposed to choose and set up such *Ministers* or Servants of *civil Justice* amongst them, who during their termes of *administration* or service, should not suffer their *Choosers* and *Makers* to enjoy their owne *Conscience*, but force them to that, which their *Officers* shall judge to be *Godliness*; but the neck of no free people can bow to such a *Y oak* and *Tyrany*.

Civil Ministers and Spiritual. *Peace.* But (lastly) to that Argument of *Rom. 13.* from the *title* which God gives to *Magistrates*, to wit, Gods *Ministers*, and to the *Distinction* of *Spiritual* Ministers for *spiritual*, and *civil Ministers* for civil matters; Master *Cotton* replies. If *Magistrates* be Gods Ministers or *Servants*, then must they do his work, and be for *God* in matters of *Religion*: And further, saith he, *Magistracy* is of God, for *light* of Nature, and not onely for *civil* things, but also in matters of *Religion*; and he produceth divers instantces of *Pagans* zeal for their Religion, and worship.

The God of heaven hath severall sorts of Ministers. *Truth.* Because *Magistrates* are Gods Servants, or Ministers [161] *civil*, and receive *civil* wages for their *civil* service; will it therefore follow that they must attend, and that chiefly and principally a *spiritual* work? That *noble-man* or *Lord*, that sets one to keep his *children*, and another to keep his *sheep*, expects not of him appointed to keep his *sheep* (though a *Minister* or *Servant*) to attend upon the keeping of his *children*, nor expects he of the *waiter* on his *children*, to attend the keeping of his *sheep*.

Tis true, that *Magistrasie* is of God, but yet no otherwise then *Mariage* is, being an *estate* meerly *civil* and humane, and lawfull to all *Nations* of the *World*, that know not God.

Tis true that *Magistrates* be of God from the *light* of nature; but yet, as the *Religions* of the World, and the *worlds* zealous contending for them, with persecuting of others, are from the *Father* of lies and murder from the beginning; so seldome is it seen, that the *nations* of the world have persecuted or punished any for error, but for the *truth*, condemned for error.

Ordinarily
the Truth
is persecuted.

Peace. Alas, who sees not that all *nations* and people bow down to *Idols* and *Images* (as all the world did to *Nebuchadnezzars* Image.) If any amongst them differ from them, it is commonly in some *truths*, which God hath sent amongst them, for witnessing of which they are persecuted.

Truth. Your observation (deare *peace*) is evident from the *cases* of those *Philosophers*, by Master *Cotton* alledged; how weak and poor therefore is that *Argument* from the zeal of *Pagans*, &c. It is evident that such *Builders*, frame by no other then that of *nature* depraved and rotten, and not by the *Goulden* reed of the glorious gospel of *Christ Jesus*.

162] Examination of CHAP. LI. [LII.]

Peace.

IN the discourse concerning that terme, *Evil*, Master *Cotton* produceth *Pareus*, who makes that *Evil* punishable by the *Magistrate*, fourfold, *natural*, civil, *moral*, and *spiritual*.

Truth. That excellent and holy *witness* of *Christ Jesus* (in many of his precious *truths*) *Pareus* being

here produced without Scripture or *Argument*, for the *Magistrates* punishing of the fourth sort of *evil*; to wit *spiritual*: nor answering my *Arguments* brought against such an *Interpretation*, gives me occasion of no further answer to Master *Cotton* or him in this place.

*Touching
the tearms
Evil, Rom.
13.*

Peace. Whereas it was alleadged, that the *Elders* of the *New English Churches*, in the model prohibite (*expresly*) the *Magistrates* from the punishing or taking notice of some *Evils*, and that therefore as they ascribe to the *Civil Magistrates*, more then God gives, so they take away and disrobe him of that *Authority*, which God hath cloathed him with: Master *Cotton* replies, when we say that the *Magistrate* is an avenger of *evil*, we mean of all sorts or kindes of *evil*, and not every particular of each kind; and further he saith, that *domestick evils* may be healed in a domestick way.

*The civil
Magistrate
robbed of
his civil
power.*

Truth. I readily concur with him, that the *Magistrate* may not punish *evils* that he knowes not of in a due and orderly way sufficiently proved before him; as also, that many *domestick evils* are best healed in a *domestick* way; but yet that *Limitation* added, to wit, without acquainting the *Church* first) seems to bind the *Magistrates* hand, where no true *Church* of Christ is, to acquaint with such things) yea and further where it is, why should the *Magistrate* be denied, to exercise his power in cases meerly *civil* (the old practice of the *Popish Church*?) And to whom should the *Servant* or *Child*, or *Wife*, petition and complaine against *oppression*, unless to the publike *Father*, *Master*, and *Husband* of the *Commonweal*? And therefore

from their own Interpretation, they may well *spare* that strict and literal *acception* of the word *evil*, and cease to cry *Hereſie* is *evil*, *Idolatrie evil*, *Blasphemie evil*, &c.

163] *Examination of* CHAP. LIII,
 Answering to
 Chap. LIII, LIV, LV.

Peace.

IN these three Chapters, the last Reason which the Author of the *Arguments* against *persecution* produced, was discussed; to wit, that the *disciples* of *Christ* should be so far from persecuting, that contrariwise they ought to bless such as curse them, &c. and that because of the freeness of *Gods grace*, and the deepness of his *counsels*, calling home them that be enemies, *persecutors*, *no people*, yea some at the last hour. In answer to which, Master *Cotton* complaineth that two of his *Answers* were omitted; and suspecteth that as *children* skip over hard places, so they were skipt over, &c.

Truth. It is true, those two *answers* were omitted, not because the chapter was too hard, &c. but because the Discusser saw (nor sees) not any *controversie* or *difference* between Master *Cotton* and himself in those passages; and also studying *brevity* and *contraction*, as Master *Cotton* himself hath done, omitting far more, and contracting three Chapters in one, in this very passage.

Upon the same ground, I see no need of mentioning his Reply in these three Chapters, wherein Master Cotton concurs in the point of the *necessity* of tolerating even notorious offenders in the *State* in some cases.

Peace. The result of all *agitations* in this passage is this: Master Cotton denies not but that in some cases a notorious *malefactor* may be tolerated, and consequently (as I understand him) an *heretick*, *seducer*, &c. But that ordinarily it is not lawful to tolerate a *seducing teacher*, and that from the clearness of Gods command, *Deut. 13.* and from the reason of it vers. 10, *Because he hath sought to turn thee away from the Lord thy God.* Withal he concludes, that all *Moses capital Politicks* are *eternal*.

Of toleration which Master Cotton in cases makes large enough.

Truth. Thus far is gained, that it was no vain exception against Master Cotton's general *proposition*, to wit, that it is evil to tolerate [164] notorious *evil doers*, *seducing teachers*, *scandalous livers*, because he sees cause of toleration in some cases.

Peace. Yea but, saith he, In ordinary cases it is not lawful to tolerate, from *Deut. 13.*

The land of Israel a type.

Truth. I am of Master Cotton's minde: It is not lawful for *Israel*, that is, the Church of God, to tolerate: and the *reason* it pleaseth the Lord to alleadge, is *eternal*. But what is this to the *nations* of the world, the *states*, *cities*, and *kingdoms* thereof? Let Master Cotton finde out any such *land* or *state* that is the *Church* and *Israel* of God. Yea Master Cotton confesseth in a fore-going passage, that the Church is the *Israel* of God: Then must he with me acknowledge that this *Deut. 13.* only concerns the

Israel or Church of God, whom Christ Jesus furnished with spiritual weapons against such spiritual offenders.

Peace. But I wonder that Master Cotton should say that *Moses capitals* are *eternal*.

Truth. I wonder not, because I have seen in print sixteen or seventeen *capital* evils (a great part of them of a *spiritual* nature) censured with death in *New England*.¹

And yet again, me thinks it is wonderful, since Master Cotton knows how many of *Moses capitals* were of a *ceremonial* nature. The breach of the *sabbath*, the not coming to keep the *passover*, (for neglect whereof the *Israelites* were to be put to death)

¹ In the *Body of Liberties*, the code of laws established in Massachusetts in 1641, the 94th Section contains the Capital Laws. This specified twelve cases in which the penalty of death is to be inflicted. 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 232.

In 1641 a pamphlet was published in London, entitled "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now established." In 1655, the same work in a more complete form, with some changes in the title, was published by William Aspinwall, who states that this Abstract was collected out of the Scriptures by Mr. John Cotton and presented to the General Court of Massachusetts. Winthrop, (*Journal*, i. 240,) under date of October, 1636, says: "Mr. Cotton did this court present a Model of Moses his Judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration, &c." The Abstract was probably this "Model" of Cotton's, by some error printed as if the code was

actually adopted. It has been supposed to be the basis of the Body of Liberties. But they have very little resemblance, and we know that the Body of Liberties was composed, not by Cotton, but by Ward of Ipswich. Winthrop, *Journal*, 2. 66.

The Abstract is printed in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 173-187. Chapter VII. is of Capital crimes, and enumerates twenty-four cases which are to be punishable with death or banishment. Of these, "sixteen or seventeen" are "censured with death." It was this "Abstract" of Cotton's, without doubt, which Williams had "seen in print." Blackstone says that in England, in his time, no less than 160 crimes were declared by act of Parliament worthy of instant death. *Commentaries*, iv. 18. The Plymouth code, adopted in 1636, recognized eight capital offences. Brigham, *Compact, Laws, &c.*

how can Master Cotton make these *eternal* in all nations?

Peace. How many *millions* of *millions* of Heads (and not a few of the highest) in our own and other *Nations*, would soon feel the *capital calamity* of such a *capital bloody* Tenent, if Master Cotton swayed the *Scepter* of some of the worlds former or present *Cæsars*?

Truth. And yet I readily affirm, that *spiritually* and *mystically* in the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *Christ*, such evils are to be *spiritually* (and so eternally) punished.

165] CHAP. LIV, Replying to Chap. LIV.
Examined.

Peace.

IN this 56 Chap. were observed two *evils* in Mr. Cottons conjoyning of *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers*, as the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress and punish: Unto which Master Cotton replies, First, That he no where makes it the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work to suppress *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers*, saying, that it ought to be the care of the *church* to suppress and punish *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous livers* in a *church-way*, as well as the *Magistrates* in a *civil way*.

Truth. By this Doctrine, Master Cotton will seem to deny it, to be the *Magistrates* proper and adequate

object to punish scandalous livers, because the *church* also (saith he) is to make it her work also.

*Touching
false and
seducing
Teachers.*

It is true, if a scandalous liver be of the *church*, and fall into any scandal, she by the *ruls* and *power* of *Christ* ought to recover him in the *spirit* of *meekness*: but yet the punishing of him with temporal punishment, who will deny it to be the proper work of the *civil state*?

But (Secondly) what if the *seducing teacher*, or *scandalous* liver, be neither of them members of the Church (and the *church* hath nought to do to judge them without) will not Master *Cotton* then affirm the seducing Teacher, or scandalous liver to be the proper and adequate object of the *Magistrates* care and work?

Peace. When it was excepted against that things of such a different *nature* and kind, as *seducing Teachers*, and scandalous livers, should be coupled together at the *civil Bar*? Master *Cotton* replies, that both these agree in one common kind, to wit, they are *evil* and destructive to the common good of *Gods* people, which ought to be preserved both in *church* and *Commonweal*: If a man shall say (saith he) that the *work* of *creation* on the sixth day, was either of *man* or of *Beast*, is here any such commixture.

Truth. Were Master *Cotton* the *worlds* Monarch, what [166] bloody *reformatiōns* or destructions rather, would he fill the world withal, if he walk by such rules and principles? for, what *religiōns* or almost men (all the world over) would he finde not opposite and destructive to *Gods* people.

*Monstrous
Mixture.*

2. But (Secondly) an historical narration of *Gods*

*The great
difference
of evil and
sin, as
against
the civil
or spiritual
estate.*

works on man or *Beast*, Birds, *Fishes*, and all creatures *Cælestial*, and *Terrestrial* is one thing: But to mix them together in *doings* or *sufferings inconsistent* with, and improper to their kinds is another thing, far different and insufferable: As for a man to affirm that a man and a beast sin'd against their *Maker*, and therefore were justly punished with spiritual *blindness* and *hardness* of heart, loss of *Gods Image* &c. The same difference and no less is between transgressors against the *heavenly state* and *kingdome* of *Christ*, and the *earthly state* or *Commonweal* of *Cities*, *kingdomes*, &c.

Peace. Master *Cotton* adds, that it is more tolerable for seducing Teachers to *seduce* those who are in the same gall of *bitterness*, as for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans* &c.

Truth. That is but in the degree, and so (according to his supposition) must be punished gradually; but what is this to prove *seducing* Teachers as well as *scandalous* livers, the joynt object of the *civil sword*?

Peace. Why doth Master [*Cotton*] say it is more tolerable for *Pagans* to seduce *Pagans*, Antichristians Antichristians? What Scripture doth he produce for this toleration, this *indulgence*, this *partiality*? All that is here said, is this, We look at it as more tolerable?

Gross partiality the bloody doctrine of persecution.

Truth. One thing is shroudly to be suspect in this matter, and that is a most *unchristian partiality*, in directing the sword of the *Magistrate* to fall heaviest on such seducers only, as trouble *his* conscience, his Doctrine, Worship, and Government: suppose in some of the *Cities* of *Holland*, *Poland*, or *Turkie*

(where some freedome is) that *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Anti-christians* and *Christians* (that is Christians of Master Cottons conscience) together with *Turkes* were commingled in civil cohabitation and commerce together: Why now shall that *Turke* that hath seduced one of Master Cottons conscience to *Mabumetanisme* be more punished for that crime, then for turning a *Jew*, *Pagan*, or *Papist* to his *Belief* and worship? What warrant shall the *Magistrate* of such a *city* or place [167] finde to their *souls*, either for striking at all with the *civil sword* in such a case? or else in dealing such partial blows among the people?

Peace. I fear that *Gods* own people (of this opinion) see not the deceitfulness of their own heart, crying up the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, Nursing fathers, Nursing mothers, &c. ^{Great} when all is but to escape the bitter sweetening of *Christs* ^{subsisting} ^{to escape} cross, so dashing in pieces the most wise *councils* of the *father*, concerning his blessed Son and his followers, to whom he hath (ordinarily) allotted in this *world*, the *portion* of *sorrow* and *suffering*, and of *raigning* and *triumphing*, after the *battel* fought and *victory* obtained in the world approaching.

Peace. But Master Cotton will say, that in such fore-mentioned cases, such *Magistrates* must suspend punishments for *religion*, &c.

Truth. I say, consequently all or most of the *Magistrates* in the world must suspend and none but some few of his *conscience* (by his *doctrine*) shall be found fit, to use the *civil sword*, in matter of *Religion*, and that is (in plaine *Englisb*) to fight only for *his conscience*.

Peace. But to proceed, it will be hard (saith Master Cotton) for the discusser to finde *Antichristian seducers* clear from *disobedience* to the *civil laws* of the *state*, in case that *Antichrist* (to whom they are sworn) shall excommunicate the *civil magistrate*, and prescribe the *civil state* to the invasion of his *followers*.

*Christien
weapons.*

Truth. Most properly *seducing teachers* sin against the *church* and *spiritual kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, which if erected and governed according to *Christ Jesus*, she is a Castel or Fort sufficiently provided with all sorts of heavenly *ammunition* against all sorts of her *spiritual* adversaries: yea and in the desolation of the *churches* (during the *Apostacy*) *Christ Jesus* (as I have elsewhere observed) hath not left his *witnesses* destitute of terrible *defence* against all gainesayers: But grant (what Master Cotton supposeth) such seducers from *obedience* to the *civil state*, &c. Such as the Seminaries and bringers over of Pope *Pius* the 5 his Bul against Queen *Elizabeth* &c.* The answer is short and plain, civil officers bear not the sword in vain, when the *civil state* is assaulted as the *spiritual officers* and *governors* of the church bear not in vain 168] the *spiritual* and *two-edged sword* coming out of the *mouth* of *Christ*.

Peace. Whereas now (secondly) there was observed by the Discusser in such coupling of [*seducing teachers*

* Pius V. issued his Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, February 25, 1570. It was not published in London till the 15th of May. Froude, *History of England*, x. 59. It was then affixed to the gates of the Bishop of London's pal-

ace by John Felton, who was executed for the offence. Hume, *History*, v. 179.

A *Seminary* is "an English popish priest educated abroad." Halliwell, *Dictionary*, ii. 721.

& *scandalous livers*] a silent and implicate *justification* of the Jews and Gentiles their coupling *Christ Jesus* and his *followers*, as *seducing teachers* with *scandalous livers*, *Christ* between *two thieves*, &c. The sum of what Master *Cotton* replies, is, that the *Lord Jesus* and his *followers* suffering under those names, weakens not the hand of *Authority* to punish such who are *seducing teachers* & *scandalous livers*.

Truth. It hath ever been the portion of the Lord *Christ Jesus* and his followers (for the most part theirs one-
Christ Jesus between two Thieves.
ly) to be accounted *seducing teachers*, *deceivers* and *cheaters* of the people, *blasphemous* against God, *seditionous* against the State; and accordingly to be numbered (as *Christ Jesus* between *two thieves*) both in *esteem* and *punishment* with scandalous and notorious *malefactors*; and this for no other cause, but cause of *conscience* in spiritual matters, and most commonly for differing from and witnessing against the several *State* and *City-Religions* and *Worships* wherein they lived.

Peace. If the *Jews* (notwithstanding their fair colours to the contrary) walking in the doctrine of *Persecution* for *conscience*, justified their *fathers* for murdering the *Prophets*, &c. I cannot (*dear Truth*) but subscribe to your sorrowful observation that Master *Cotton* and others (otherwise excellent servants of God) in coupling *seducing teachers* and *scandalous livers*, as the proper object for the *civil sword* to strike at, they do no other but act the *Jews* true *Antitype*, coupling *Christ Jesus* the *seducing teacher* with *Barabbas* the *scandalous liver* and *murderer*.

Truth. Yea, and who sees not how often *Barab-*

*The hori-
ble Hypoc-
risie of all
persecu-
tors.*

bas the scandalous liver is cried out of the *Magistrates* hands by the scandalous people, while *Christ Jesus* in his servants is cried to the *Cross*, to the *Gallows*, to the *Stake*, to *Banishment*, &c. Their Persecutors also are applauded, for (not persecuting men for their *Consciences*, but) *righteously, legally* (and with great sorrow) punishing them for sinning against their own *conscience*, for disturbing of the *civil State* and *peace*, for contemning of *Magistrates*, *Kings* *Queens*, and *Parliaments*, for blaspheming *God*, and for seducing and destroying the souls of the people.

169] CHAP. 55. *Replying to* CHAP. 66.

Exam :

*Christs
charge to
Pergamus
and Thia-
tira against
Tollera-
tion exam-
ined.*

Peace. **T**HE Discusser admired in this Chap: how M^r. *Cotton* should alledge (*Revel. 2. [14.]*) *Christs* charge against the *Church* of *Pergamus* for tollerating them that hould the *Doctrine* of *Balaam*, and against the *Church* of *Thiatira* for tollerating *Jezabell* to teach and seduce: M^r *Cotton* here replies, that he meant not in alledging those Scriptures to prove it unlawfull for *Magistrates* to tollerate seducing *Teachers*, but unlawfull for *Churches*: adding that the Letter of the *Prisoner* was so stated, in *generall tearmes* that he knew not (upon the point) what *Tolleration* or *Persecution* should be meant or intended, otherwise then *generall* against all *Persecution* for *Conscience*, withall affirming that an unjust *Excommunication* is as true *Persecution* as unjust *Banishment*.

Truth. It is true what M^r Cotton saith, An unjust *Excommunication* is as true *Persecution* as an unjust *Banishment*, and therefore some may justly complaine against M^r Cotton and others, for practicing such *persecution* in both kindes, being not onely banished from their *civill State*, but unjustly (and after the Popes way) *Excommuicated* also, from their *Churches*, but of that more elswhere.

False Excommunication one kinde of persecution.

2. We doe not in ordinarie *English* read, but that the word *Persecution* is taken for *civill corporall violence* and punishment inflicted on the *body* for some spirituall and religious matter; according to the Lord *Christ* his words to *Paul*, Acts 9. [4.] *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*

The word Persecution how ordinarily it is taken.

3. The passages in the *Letter* shew that the whole scope of the *Letter* was to contend against outward violence and corporall affliction in matters of *Conscience*.

Peace. It may not be a lost Labour (*Deare Truth*) to draw a taste of some passages in the *Letter*.

Truth. For further satisfaction, my *paines* shall be a *pleasure*; and first

From the *Arguments* from holy *Scripture*, observe *Luc. 9. [55.]* the Lord *Christ* reproving his two zealous *Disciples*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of: The Son of Man is not come to destroy mens *lives*, but to save them.

170] Again, That of the *Prophets*, *Isaiab* [2. 4.] and *Micah*, [4. 3.] They shall breake their *Swords* into *Mattocks*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*.

Persecution ordinarily implies corporall violence.

Again, *Christ*s charge unto his *Disciples*, that they should be so farre from *persecuting* those that would

not be of their *Religion*, that when they were *persecuted*, they should *pray* and *blesse*, &c. [Luke 6. 28.]

Peace. These holy *Passages* (Me thinks) are not unlike the *Stones* in *Dauids* sling, smooth and plaine enough, yet powerfull and dreadfull, both against this *Goliath Tenent* of *persecution*, and also prove a corporall *persecution* intended.

Truth. Now a taste of the speeches of severall *Kings* produced by the *prisoner*.¹

1. That of King *James*; *God* never loves to plant his *Church* by *Violence* and *Bloudshed*.

2. That of *Stephen* King of *Poland*; I am King of *Men*, not of *Consciencs*, of *Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

3. Of the King of *Bohemia*; When ever *Men* have attempted any thing in this *violent course*, the issue hath been ever pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderfull *Innovations*.

4. Another of King *James*; That he was resolved not to *persecute* or *molest*, or suffer to be *persecuted* or *molested* any Person whatsoever, for matter *Religion*.

In the third place, a taste of the *Speeches* of the ancient *Writers* produced by the *Prisoner*.¹

1. That of *Hilarius*: That *Church* which formerly by enduring *misery* and *imprisonment*, was knowne to be the true *Church*, doth now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *miserie*.

2. Of *Jerome*; *Hereſie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, Let us strike through with the *Arrowes* of the *Spirit*; implying, not with other weapons.

3. Of *Luther* in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate*;

¹ *Bloudy Tenent, Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 31. 37.

The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrate* extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods*. And againe upon *Luk. 22.* It is not the true *Catholike church* which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane *Power*.

Lastly, The *Papists* in their Booke for *Tolleration*; When *Christ* bids his *Disciples* to say, *peace* to this house, he doth not send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoyle the house.

171] Lastly, The *Prisoner* in answering some *Objections*, concludeth; It is no *prejudice* to the *Common-wealth*, if *Libertie* of *Conscience* were granted to such as feare *God* indeed: He also alledged that many *Seets* lived under the *Government* of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-weale*.

Peace. From these severall Tafts (*Deare Truth*) I cannot imagine how the *Prisoner* can be understood to cast the least glance unto spirituall *persecution* or *prosecution*, as M^r *Cotton* in this Chap: calls it: But to end this Chapter: When as the *Power* of *Christ Jesus* in his *Church* was argued sufficient for *spirituall* ends, M^r *Cotton* grants both for the *healing* of finners, and for keeping of the *Church* from *Guilt*, but not for the preventing of the *spreading* of *false Doctrine*, among those out of the *Church*, and in private among *Church-Members*: nor sufficient to cleare the *Magistrates* of a *Christian State* from the *Guilt* of *Apostasie* in suffering such *Apostates* amongst them, &c.

Truth. I have in other Passages of this Discourse proved;

1. That *Christ Jesus* (whiles his *Churches* and

Ordinances flourished, and since the *Apostasie* of *Antichrist* in the hands of his *Witnesses*) hath gloriously and sufficiently furnished his Servants for all *spirituall* cases of all sorts, *defending*, *offending*, &c.

No Civill
Christian
State.

2. That there is no other *Christian State* acknowledged in the *New Testament*, but that of the Christian Church or Kingdome, and that not Nationall but Congregationall.

Christs
Sword.

3. That the *Apostles* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus* never addrest themselves by Word or Writing to any of the *Civill States* wherein they lived and taught, and were mightily opposed and blasphemed. I say they never ran to borrow the *Civill Sword*, to helpe the two edged Sword of *Christ Jesus*, against *Opposers*, *Schismatics*, *Hereticks*. The Lord *Jesus* was a wiser King then *Solomon*, even *Wisdom* it selfe, and cannot without great *Dishonour* and *Derogation* to his *Wisdom* and *Love*, be imagined to leave open such *Gaps*, such *Leakes*, such *Breaches* in the *Ship* and *Garden* of his *Church* and *Kingdome*.

172] *The Exam: of Chap. 56. replying to 58. & 59.*

Peace. **T**O the first observation, that M^r Cotton turgeth that *Princes* are nurcing *Fathers* to *feede* and *correct* (and consequently must judge of *feeding* and *correction*, and all men are bound to submit to such their *feeding* and *correction*;) M^r Cotton sayth, This is false and fraudulent so to collect, and these are *devised Calumnies*.

Truth. It will evidently appeare, how greatly M^r Cotton forgets the *Matter* and *Himselfe*, when he so deeply chargeth, for all this he granteth in this his *Reply*, onely with this *Limitation*, that *Subjects* are bound to submit to them herein when they judge according to the *Word*. This *Limitation* takes not away the *observation*, for it is alway implied in *subjection* to all *Civill Rulers*, *Fathers*, *Husbands*, *Masters*, that it be according to the *Word*.

Peace. Yea but sayth he, it is a Notorious *Calumnie* so to represent M^r Cottons dealing with Princes, as if he made his owne *Judgment* and *practice* the *Rule* of the proceeding of *Princes*.

Truth. Let it be laid in the *Ballance*, and seene “where the *Calumnie* or *slander* lies: *Princes* or “*Civill Rulers*, saith M^r Cotton, are *Fathers* to feed ^{Nurcing} *Princes* and *Rulers* declare themselves against M^r Cottons *Tenent* of *persecution* for *conscience*. M^r Cotton will answer; The *profession* and *practice* of *Princes* is no *rule* to *Conscience*. I reply, and ask, who shall judge of *Princes profession* and *practice*, when they thus feed and judge in *spirituall* matters? whether their *profession* and *practice* be according to the *Word* or no? M^r Cotton (when *Princes* are alleadged against his *judgment* and *conscience*) pleads, that *Princes profession* and *practice* is no *rule*: Let all men judge whether his *judgment* and *conscience* be not made the *Rule* to the *consciences* and *practices* of *Princes*, whom yet he makes the nurcing Fathers.

Peace. When it was further demanded, whether

M^r Cotton and others of his minde could submit in *spirituall* cafes to any *Magistrates* in the *world*, but onely to those just of his *own Conscience*? [173] He answers, they will submit to any in *Active* or *Passive* obedience.

Active obedience cannot be given but to a competent Judge. *Truth.* But how can M^r Cotton suppose *Active* obedience in *spirituall* things to such *Magistrates*, who are *Pagans, Turkish, Antichristian*, and unable to judge, and bound (by his *Doctrine*) to suspend their Dealings upon *matter of Religion*, untill they be better informed? What *Active* obedience can I be supposed to give to him that hath no *Activitie* nor *Abilitie* to command and rule me? And must it not evidently follow, that *Active* obedience in these cafes (according to his *judgment*) must onely be yeelded to such *Magistrates* as are able to judge the true *Religion* and way of *Worship*; That is, the *Religion* and *Worship* which he takes to be of *God*.

Peace. Whereas it was said, will it not follow that all other *Consciences* in the *world*, besides their owne must be persecuted by such their *Magistrates* (were power in their hand)? M^r Cotton replies, no; except all *Mens consciences* in the *world* did erre *fundamentally* against the *Principles* of *Christian Religion*, or *fundamentally* against *Church-Order*, and *Civill Order*, and that in a *tumultuous* and *factious* manner; for in these cafes onely (sayth he) we allow *Magistrates* to punish in matters of *Religion*.

Truth. I have and must observe the Evill of that *Distinction* between *Christian Religion* and *Christian Order*, as not finding any such in the *Testament* of the Sonne of *God*, but finding *Church-Order* a prin-

cipall part of the *Christian Religion*, as well as *Repentance* and *Faith*, Heb. 6. [1. 2.]

But (2.) grant once M^r Cottons *Religion* and way *Persecu-*
of *Worship* to be the onely true *Religion* and way of *tors, if it*
Gods Worship, and all other *Religions* and wayes of *were in*
Worship false, how can that *Errour* be otherwise *their pow-*
then *fundamentall*? And if other mens *Consciences* *er, would,*
attend not to M^r Cottons *convictions*, but obstinately *and are*
maintaine their blasphemous *Religions*, how can the *persecute*
Magistrates of his *conscience* be dispenced with and *all Con-*
absolved from persecuting such *obstinate Consciences* *sciences and*
throughout the whole *World* beside? *Religions*
in the
World.

Peace. When it was further demanded, if this
were not to make *Magistrates Staires* and *Stirrops*
for *themselves* (the *Clergie*) to mount up in the seats
and fadles of their great and settled *Maintenance*?
M^r Cotton replies, this is rather to make them [174
Swords and *Staves* to punish them (if need be)
Hereticall Delinquencie: 2. Their *Magistrates* them-
selves fall short of great and settled *Maintenance*:
And lastly, Himselfe liveth upon no great and settled
Maintenance.

Truth. It is true M^r Cotton allowes the same *Power*
to *Magistrates* to punish all *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*,
Seducers, one as well as another: But what if it
should fall out that his *Magistrates* should declare
themselves for the *Pope*, or for the *Prelates*, or for
the *Presbyters*, yea, or for some other way then is
professed: and left it free for each mans *conscience*
to *worship* as he believed, and to pay or not pay to-
ward this or that *Worship* or *Ministrrie*, according to *All perse-*
his owne *perswasion* more or lesse, any thing or noth- *cutors*
ould the
Popes tray-

*terous Doc-
trine of de-
posing he-
reticall
Princes.*

ing, will not M^r Cotton then plead that such *Magistrates* themselves (Apostatizing from the *Truth* of God, and turning *Enemies* (as the *Pope* clamours) to the holy *Church*) I say, that such ought not onely to be accursed with the lesser and greater Censures of *Suspention* and *Excommunication*, but also punished with *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, and *Death*: Or if they finde the mercy of *Life* and *Favour* of an *Office* (by some over-ruling *Providence*) will not M^r Cotton then pleade that such *Magistrates* ought to suspend their Power to hould their hands, and not to medle untill they be better informed, &c. Into such poore withered *Strawes* and *Reedes* will the *Allowance* of *Swords* and *Staves*, M^r Cotton here speakes of come to? Concerning the seats and saddles of great and settled *maintenance* of *Magistrates*, the Discusser spake not, but heartily wisheth their *Maintenance* as great and settled, as he knowes their *Labours* and *Travells* and *Dangers* be: He spake onely of *Ministers* great and settled *maintenance*.

Peace. O *Truth*, this is the *Apple* of the *Eye*, the true cause of so much *combustion* all the *World* over, especially *Popish* and *Protestants*.

*The Popish
and Pro-
testant* *Truth.* Indeed this was the cause (as *Erasmus* told the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, that *Luther* was so stormed at) because he medled with the *Popes Crowne* and the *Monkes Bellies*.¹ To obtaine these warme and soft

¹ "Erasmus met the elector of Saxony at Cologne, Dec. 5, 1520. 'What is your opinion of Luther?' immediately demanded Frederick. The prudent Erasmus, surpris'd at so direct a question, sought at first to elude replying. He

screwed up his mouth, bit his lips and said not a word. Upon this, the elector, raising his eyebrows, as was his custom when he spoke to people, from whom he desired to have a precise answer, says Spalatin, fixed his piercing glance

and rich *seats* and *sadles* (who ever stand or goe on
foote, or creepe, or beg, or Starve) the *Prelates* prac-
tices all Ages know. Yea and other *practices* of
some of late, who (with the Evill *Steward* providing
wisely) first made sure of [175] an Ordinance of *Par-*
liament for *Tithes* and *Maintenance*, before any *Ordi-*
nance for God Himselfe.

Clergie set
the Popish
and Pro-
testant
World on
fire for
their
Mainte-
nance.

Peace. This is that indeed which the *Politick State*
of *Holland* well foresaw, when they were lamentably
whipt by the King of *Spaines* (and Gods) Scourge,
Duke D'alva, into a Toleration of other mens *Con-*
sciences: The *Politick States-men*, I say, saw a neces-
sitie of stopping their *Dominies* Mouths with sure
and settled *Maintenance* out of the *States* purse.
Hence it is the *Dutch Ministers* zeale is not so hot
against the *Toleration* of *Hereticks* in the *Civill*
State, as the *English* hath been.

The Dutch
device to
winne their
Clergie to
Tolleration
of other
Religions.

Truth. To this purpose (sweet *Peace*) how fitly
did that learned *Prideaux*¹ once tell his Sons the
Oxford Doctors, at one of their Superstitious *Crea-*
tions, that since they could not *dig*, and were ashamed
to *beg*, they had great need (therefore) of settled *Main-*
tenance, This was but the Evil *Stewards* device, and
(I adde) little better then stealing.

All that
professe to
be Christs
Ministers,
must Dig,
or Beg, or
Steale.

Peace. Yea but sayth Mr *Cotton*, I live not so, &c.

Truth. One *Swallow* makes not a *Summer*: what

on Erasmus. The latter not knowing
how to escape from his confusion, said
at last, in a half jocular tone: "Luther
has committed two great faults: he has
attacked the crown of the pope and the
bellies of the monks." D'Aubigné,
Hist. of Reformation, iii: 166.

¹ John Prideaux (1578-1650) professor
and vice-chancellor at Oxford, was made
bishop of Worcester in 1641. He ad-
hered to Charles I., and was reduced to
poverty. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii:
265-273. Fuller, *Worthies*, i: 279.

others have done and doe, and what *practices* have been and are for a forced setled maintenance (as firme and *setled* as ever was the *Parish maintenance* of *Old England*) hath been, to the shame of *Christianitie*, too apparent: For M^r *Cotton* himselfe, as I envie not the *fatnes* of his *morjells*, nor the *sweetnes* of his *Cups*, but wish him as large a *purse*, as I beleieve he hath an *Heart*, and a desire to doe good with it: Yet it hath been said, that his case is no *President*, because what he loofeth in the *Shire*, he gets in the *Hundredth*, and sits in as soft and rich a *jadle* as any throughout the whole *Countrey*, through the *greatnes* and *Richnes* of the *Marchandize* of the *Towne* of *Boston*, above other parts of the Land.¹ The truth is, there is no Tryall of the good or Evill Servant in this case, untill it comes to *Digging* or *Begging*, or the third way, viz: of *couzening* of the great *Lord & Master Christ Jesus*; by running to *carnall meanes* and *carnall weapons*, to force mens *purses* for a rich and setled *Maintenance*.

¹ In 1633, William Wood said of Boston, "This town, although it be neither the greatest nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented." *New England Prospect*, 38. In the same year a tax was laid upon the towns for public purposes, and Roxbury, Newton, Watertown and Charlestown, were assessed as much as Boston, namely, £48, while Dorchester paid £80. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i: 110.

Edward Johnson, writing about the same time with Williams, describes the

larger towns, and speaks of Boston as "being the centre town and metropolis of this wilderness worke." He speaks of it as "this city-like towne," "the buildings beautiful and large, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall enlargement presages some sumptuous city." "This town is the very mark of the land. French, Portugalls and Dutch come hither for traffic." *Wonder working Providence*, 42. 43. "Boston, being the chieftest place of resort of shipping, carries all the trade." *Do.*, 66. 208. 209.

Chap. 57. (*replying to Chap. 60.*) *Examined.*

Peace. **C**ONCERNING *Princes* M^r Cotton addeth, that *Princes* out of *State policie*, doe sometimes tollerate what [176] suits not with *Chriftianitie* (as *David* did *Joab*) againft their wills.

Unto this it was answered, that this agrees not with his former generall *Propofition*, to wit, that it was evill to Tollerate *seducing Teachers*, and *scandalous livers*; M^r Cotton replyes; Yes, for *Mofes* laid downe in generall, Who fo fheddeth mans *blood*, by man fhall his *blood* be fhed; yet *Joab* was tollerated to live, &c.

Truth. If *Mofes* had faid; It is not lawfull to tollerate a *Murtherer*; and yet afterward had tollerated a *Murtherer*, his later *practice* would not have feemed harmonious to his former fpeech, but *Mofes* did not fo, and therefore I conceive is not rightly alledged.

Peace. Whereas it was further alledged, that that *State policie*, and *State neceffitie*, which permitted the *confciences* of *Men*; will be found to agree moft punctually with the *Rules* of the beft *politician* that ever the world faw (the Lord *Jefus* himfelfe) who commanded the permitting of the Tares.

M^r Cotton replyes, that he is not againft the permitting of fome *Antichriftians*, or falfe *Chriftians*, unleffe they maintaine *fundamentall* Herefie againft the *Foundation* of *Religion*, and that *obftinately* after *conviction*, and withall *seduce* others: But for fuch

Hereticks and seducing Teachers, they are none of those *Tares*, of which *Christ* sayth, Let them alone.

Besides, sayth he, If by *Tares* are meant grosse offenders: then the speech of *Christ*, *Let them alone*, is not a word of command, but a word of permission and prediction; like that *Luc. 22. 36.* He that hath no *Sword*, let him sell his *Garment* and buy a *Sword*.

All Anti-christians are fundamentally opposite to Christ Jesus.

Truth. I answer, that there should be *Antichristians*, or false *Christians*, which maintaine not *fundamentall* Heresie against *Foundation of Religion*, I thinke is new to the *New Testament of Christ Jesus*, and to the *Tryalls* the holy *Spirit* proposeth by *John* in his *Epistles*, discovering such to be the *Hereticks* and *Apostates*, as deny the *Lord Jesus* (as all *Antichristians* or false *Christians* doe more or lesse) to be come in the *Flesh* the true *Messiah*, and anointed *King, Priest, and Teacher* to his *Church*.

Peace. If M^r *Cotton* will make good his word, to wit, that he will permit some *Antichristians* or false *Christians*, methinks [177] the whole *Tryall* of this matter might well turne upon this *Hinge*, so that the true or false *Christian* be tryed by the *Rules* of the *New Testament*.

Truth. If so, he must undeniably subscribe to this great and *Christian policie* of permission or Tolleration: "As for the *Exceptions* following [Unless they maintaine *Fundamentall Heresie*, and unless they sin *actually*] These pull backe againe with the Left hand what merciful *Freedome* he had given before with the Right.

Touching the Tares.

3. But lastly, by this *Interpretation* of, Let them alone, by way of permission and prediction, it appears

that M^r Cottons Thoughts are not without *checks* and *doubtings* what these *Tares* might be: For (sayth he) [if by *Tares* are meant grosse *offendours*] whereas before he spent much precious time to prove the *Tares* to be a kinde of *closer Hypocrite*.

Moreover, all permission is of *Evill*, for some *Good*, so he, the permission of *Tares* for the *Wheate* sake: In which respect (as I conceive) the good *Wheate* is not so tendred, nor the *Word* of *Christ* so attended to by such, as presume (in pretence for the good wheate sake) to pluck up those *Tares*, unto whom *Christ Jesus* for the good *Wheate* sake, hath for a Time granted a *permission*.

Exam: of Chap. 58. replying to Chap. 61.

Peace. **V**Whereas the Discusser professedly waved any *Argument* from the *number* of *Princes* witnessing in *profession* or *practice* against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, M^r Cotton replies, that this is a yeelding of the *Invaliditie* of the *Argument*: But 2. that he urgeth not the *number*, but the greater *pietie* and *presence* of *God* with those *Princes* who have professed and practiced against *Tolleration*.

Truth. As I would not use an *Argument* from the number of *Princes* about an heavenly matter (as knowing that the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the Earth commonly minde their owne *Crownes*, *Honours*, and *Dominions*, more then *Gods*; and such *Princes* as are ^{*Police*} *store, but*

*Pietie rare
in Princes.*

called *Christian*, use *Gods Name*, *Crowne*, and *Ordinances*, [178] as *Jeroboam* used *Gods Name*, and *Jezebell* used *Fasting* and *prayer*, for the advancement of their owne *Crownes*, and persecuting of the *Innocent* and *Righteous*) So neither would I rest in the *Qualitie*, *Greatnes* or *Goodnes* of any. That which I attend in this Argument is the *Ground* and *Reasons* of their *Speeches*; which may also have this *Consideration* to boote, that they are the *Speeches* of such who fit at the helme of great *States*, and were not ignorant of the *Affaires* of *States*, and what might conduce to the *peace* or *disturbance*, to the *wealth* or *woe* of a *Common weale*. To their *Ground* and *Reasons* therefore I attend in the next Chapter.

Exam: of Chap. 59. replying to Chap. 62.

Peace. IN this Chap. the *Consideration* of the *Speeches* themselves, M^r *Cotton* sayth, he passed by, because, either the *Reasons* wanted waight, or did not impugne the cause in hand, as

*A Speech
of King
James con-
sidered.*

First, That *Speech* of King *James*; *God never loved to plant his Church by blood*: It is farre from us (sayth M^r *Cotton*) to compell men to yeeld to the *Fellowship* of the *Church* by bloudie *Lawes* or *Penalties*: Neverthelesse, this hindreth not but that his *Blood* may justly fall upon his owne head that shall goe about to *supplant* and *destroy* the *Church* of *Christ*.

Truth. How light or how impertinent soever these *Speeches* may seeme to M^r *Cotton*, yet to others (fearing *God* also) they are most *folli*d and *waigh*ty.

This Speech of King *James* seemes impertinent in this cause, because (sayth M^r *Cotton*) we compell no man by *bloudy Lawes* and *Penalties* to yeeld themselves to the Fellowship of the *Church*.

I answer, as *Saul* by persecuting of *David* in the Land of *Canaan*, and thrusting him forth of *Gods Heritage*, did as it were bid him goe serve other *Gods* in other *Countries*: So he that shall by bloudie *Lawes* and *Penalties* force any man from his owne *Conscience* and *Worship*, doth upon the point, say unto him, in a language of *bloud*, Come be of my *Religion*, &c.

179.] 2. *Peace*. Why should not *Men* as well be forced to the *Truth*, as forced from their *Errours* and *Erroneous practices*? Since (to keepe to the Similitude) it is the same *Power* that sets a *plant*, and plucks up *weedes*, which is true (mystically) in the *spirituall worke* of *Christ Jesus*, in his heavenly planting by his *Word* and *Spirit*.

3. *Truth*. I adde, if men be compelled to come to *Church* under such a *penaltie*, for *Absence* (as hath been practised in *Old* and *New England*)¹ How can M^r *Cotton* say, there is no forcing to the Fellowship of the *church*; when (howsoever with the *Papists*) he makes so great difference, which *Christ* never made, between the *Lords Supper*, and the *Word* and *Prayer*, and say, that men may be forced to the hearing of the *Word*, but not to the *Supper*. Yet the *consciences* of *thousands* will testifie, that it is as truly grievous to them to be forced to the one as to the other, and that they had as lief be forced to

No Man to
be forced
from his
owne Wor-
ship, &c.

Touching
compelling
to come to
Church
and to
beare.

¹ See note, *Bloudy Tenent*, 101, *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 194.

the *meat* as to the *Broth*, to the more inward and retired *chambers* and *closets*, as into the *Hall* or *Parlor*, being but parts of the same house, &c.

*A second
Speech of
King
James.*

Peace. And I may adde (*Deare Truth*) that the bloudie *Imprisonments*, *Whippings* and *Banishments*, that have cryed, and will cry in *New England*, will not be stild untill the cry of *Repentance*, and the bloud of the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, put that cry to *silence*. But to the second Speech of King *James*, No marvell (sayth *M^r Cotton*) that I past by that Speech, to wit, [that *Civill obedience* may be performed by the *Papists*,] for I found it not in the *Letter*; and beside, how can *Civill obedience* be performed by *Papists*, when the *Bishop of Rome* shall *Excommunicate* a *Protestant Prince*, dissolve the *Subjects Oath*, &c.

*Papists
may yeeld
Civill obe-
dience.*

Truth. I answer; King *James* professing concerning the *Oath of Allegiance* (which he tendred to the *Papists*, and which so many *Papists* tooke,) that he desired onely to be secured for *Civill Obedience*, to my understanding did as much as say, that he beleaved that a *Papist* might yeeld *Civill obedience*, as they did in taking this *Oath*, as quiet and peaceable *Subjects*, some of them being employed in places of *Trust*, both in his and in *Queene Elizabeths* dayes.

*The Par-
liament at
Paris, al-
though
Popish, yet
condemned*

What though it be a *Popish Tenent*, that the *Pope* may so doe, and what though *Bellarmino*, and others, have maintained such [180] bloudie *Tenents*, yet it is no *Generall Tenent* of all *Papists*, and it is well knowne that a famous *Popish Kingdome*, the whole *Kingdome of France* assembled in *Parliament* in the yeare (so calld) 1610. condemned to the *Fire* the

booke of *Johannes Marianus* for mainteining that very *Tenent*.¹ And two moneths after *Bellarmines* booke it selfe was condemned to the Fire also, by the same *Parliament* for the same detestable *Doctrine*, as the *Parliament* calld it, as tending to destroy the *higher Powers*, which *God* hath ordained, stirring up the *Subjects* against their *Princes*, absolving them from their *Obedience*, stirring them up to attempt against their *Persons*, and to disturbe the common *peace* and *quiet*: Therefore all *Persons* who ever under Paine of High *Treason*, were forbidden to *print*, *sell*, or *keepe* that booke, &c.

Peace. This *passage* being so late, and so famous in so neere a *Popish Countrie*, I wonder how Mr *Cotton* could chaine up all *Papists* in an *Impossibilitie* of yeelding *Civill obedience*, when a whole *Popish Kingdome* breakes and abhorres the *chaines* of such bloody and unpeaceable *Doctrines* and *Practices*.

2. *Experience* hath proved it possible for Men to hold other *maine* and *fundamentall Doctrines* of that *Religion*, and yet renounce the *Authoritie* of the *Pope*, as all *England* did under King *Henry 8*. when the six *bloudie Articles* were maintained and prac-

Bookes and Tenents against Civill obedience.

All England Papists, and yet the Pope renounced.

¹ John Mariana, (1537-1624,) a Jesuit, published at Toledo, a work entitled *De Rege et Regis Institutione*. In the sixth chapter he considers the question whether it is lawful to kill a tyrant, and approves the assassination of Henry III. It is said to have excited Ravaillac to the assassination of Henry IV. As stated in the text, it was burned by decree of the Parliament at Paris, in 1610. Bayle, *DiA*, iv. 127.

The treatise of Bellarmine, was enti-

tled *Tractatus de potestate summi Pontificis in Temporalibus adversus Gulielmum Barclaium*, and was printed at Rome, in 1610. Bayle quotes Mayer as saying: "The executioner already began to light the fire to punish the book and its author, had not the disposition of the Queen, influenced by the repeated and incessant intreaties of the Jesuits extinguished it." *Dictionary*, 1: 732.

ticed, and in them the *Substance* of that *Idolatrous Religion*, although the *Power* of the *Pope* of *Rome* was generally acknowledged no other, then of a *forreigne Bishop* in his owne *Diocesse*.¹

3. But grant the *English Catholicks* maintaine the *Supream Authoritie* of the *Pope*, even in *England*, it must be considered and declared how farre: If so farre, as to owne his *Power* of absolving from *obedience* (against which the aforesaid *Parliament* of *Paris* declared) the *wisdome* of the *State* knowes how to secure it selfe against such *Persons*. But if onely as *Head* of the *Church* in spirituall matters, & they give *Assurance* for *Civill obedience*, why should their *Conscienc*es more then others be oppressed?

*A twofold
holding the
Pope as
Head.*

Peace. Mr *Cotton*, (as all men and too justly in this *Controversie*) alledgeth the *Papists practices*, what ever *professions* otherwise have been: So long as they hould the *Pope*, they are [181] sure of a *Dispensation* to take any *Oath*, subscribe to any *Engagement*, and of *Absolution* for the *Acting* of any *Crime* of *Treason* or *Murther* against the chiefeſt *States-men*, and the *State* it selfe.

Truth. What is it that hath rendered the *Papists* so intraged and desperatè in *England*, *Ireland*, &c? What is it that hath so *imbittered* and *exasperatea* their minds, but the *Lawes* against their *Conscienc*es and *Worships*?

*The two
Sisters
Lawes con-*

Peace. The two *Sisters Lawes* compared, *Maries* and *Elizabeths*, concerning mens *Conscienc*es, while *Maries* were certainly written with *bloud* against the

¹ See page 129, *Supra*.

Protestants, Elizabeths may seeme to be written with *cerning*
milke against the *Papists*. *conscience.*

Truth. Deare Peace, *Chaines* of Gold and Diamonds are chaines, and may pinch and gall as fore and deepe, as those of *Brasse* and *Iron*, &c. All Lawes to force even the grossest *Conscience* (of the most besotted *Idolaters* in the world, *Jew* or *Turke*, *Papist* or *Pagan*) I say, all such Lawes, *restraining* from or *constraining* to *Worship*, and in matters meerly *Spirituell*, and of no *Civill* nature, such Lawes, such *Acts*, are *chaines*, are *yoakes*, not possibly to be fitted to the *Soules* neck, without *oppression*, and *exasperation*.

Peace. It is no wonder indeed that the Brains of those of the *Popish Faith* are so distempered and enraged by *yoakes* clapt on the neck of their *Consciences*, when *Solomon* the wisest observes it common: that *Civill oppression* (how much more *Soule-oppression*, the most *grievous* and *intollerable*) doth use to render the *Braines* of men (otherwayes most *sober* and *judicious*) *madde* and *desperate*. [Ecc. 7. 7.]

2. *Truth.* I answer (secondly) grant the *Practices* of the *Papists* against the *Civill State*, fowle, dangerous, &c. yet why should there not be hope (according to the rules of *pietie* in *Scripture*, and *policie* in *Experience*) that the *coales* of *mercy* and *moderation* may melt the *Head* of an *Enemie*, as hard as any *stone* or *mettall*, and render *imbittered Enemies*, *loving Friends*, combined and resolved for their common *safetie* and *Liberties*. *Coales of moderation and kindness, may melt an Enemie, as David melted Saul, &c.*

Thirdly, Against the feare of *Evill practices* the *Wisdome* of the *State* may securely provide, by just *cautions* and *provisoos*, as of *Subscribing* the *Civill* for pre-

venting of *Engagement*; of yeelding up their *Armes*, the *Instruments* of mischief and disturbance; of being noted by Papiſts, [182] (as the *Jewes* are in ſome parts) by ſome diſtinction of or on their *Garments*, or otherwiſe, according to the *Wiſdome* of the *State*. And without ſuch or the like ſufficient *cautions* given, it is not *Civill Juſtice* to permit juſtly ſuſpected *perſons*, dangerous to the *civill peace*, to abide out of places of *Securitie* and ſafe *Reſtraint*.

Peace. If ſuch a *couſe* were ſteered with the *Conſciences* of that *Religion*, yet are there ſome *Objections* waighty concerning the *Body* of the *People*.

Fiſt, There will be alwayes danger of *tumults* and *uproares* between the *Papiſts* and the *Proteſtants*.

1. *Truth*. Sweet *Peace*, thou mayſt juſtly be tender of the quiet *repoſe* and ſecure *Tranquilitie* of all men, and with *All men* (if it be poſſible, as the *Scripture* ſpeakes) as thou art an heavenly daughter of the *God* of *peace* and *love*. But yet thou knoweſt the *Wiſdome* of the *Engliſh State* needs not be taught from abroad (where *Libertie* abroad is granted to the *Popiſh* or *Proteſtant Conſciences*) of making ſafe and ſufficient proviſion againſt all *Tumults*, and feare of *uproares*.

Sufficient
proviſions
are made
in other
Nations,
againſt
Diftrac-
tions and
Tumults
from oppo-
ſite Con-
ſciences
and Wor-
ſhips.

2. But ſecondly, it is too too fully and lamentably true, that the *Congregations* or *Churches* of the ſeverall ſorts of ſuch as in whole or in part ſeperate from the *Pariſh worſhip* and *worſhippers*, are farre more odious to, and doe more exaſperate a thouſand times, the *Pariſh Aſſemblies*, then the *Papiſts* or *Catholiques* themſelves are or doe: So that if the *People* were let looſe to take their choice of exerciſing *violence*

and *furie*, either upon a *Popish* or a *Protestant Seperate Assembly*, it is cleare from the greater *corrivation* [corrivalry] and *competition* (made by the *Protestants* that *seperate*,) to the true *Church*, true *Government*, true *Worship*, true *Ministrie*, true *Seales*, &c. the rage of the People would mount up incomparably fiercer against the one then the other. Hence it was the *Papists* ever found more favour with the last two *Kings* and their *Bishops*, then the *Puritants* (so called) did, and the *seperate Assemblies* were not so maligned by them as the *Nonconformists*, nor they so much as the very conforming *Puritants*. And therefore suitably it was belcht out from a fowle mouth *Rabshেকে*, a *Chaplain* to one of the late *Bishops*; A *plague* (said he) on all Conforming *Puritants*, they doe us most mischief. Notwithstanding all this, and the bitter *Indignation* [183] of *People* against these *Sectaries* (so called) and their *Assemblies*, yet the most holy *wisdome* of the *Father of Lights* hath taught the *Parliament of England* that wonderfull skill (in the midst of so many *Spirituell oppositions*) to preserve the *Civill peace* from the *dangers* and *occasions* of *civill Tumults* and *Distractions*.

Peace. Admit the *civill peace* be kept inviolate, yet how satisfie we the *feares* and *jealousies* of many who cry out of danger of *Infection*, and that *Jezabels Doctrine* will leaven and seduce the Land &c. [?]

Truth. I will not here repeate what in other parts of this booke I have presented touching that Point of *Infection*. At present, I answer;

First, It is to me most improbable, that (except the *Body* of the *Nation* face about from *Protestanisme*

Neerer
Competition &
home-bred
oppositions
most of all
exasperate,
&c.

The admir-
ed Pru-
dence of
the Par-
liament in
preserving
Civill
Peace.

Increase of to *Poperie*) (as in *Queene Maries* dayes) that the
Papists un- number of *Protestants* turning *Papists*, will be great
likely in in a *Protestant Nation*, especially if such *securitie* be
England. taken, as was above-mentioned, and otherwise, as
the *State* shall order, &c. together with such publick
notes and *markes* (before mentioned) on the *People*
of that *Way*, because of their former *practices*.

Secondly, Yea, why should not rather the glorious
Beames of the *Sunne* of *Righteousnesse* in the free *Con-*
ferrings, *Disputings* and *Preachings* of the *Gospel* of
Truth, be more hopefully like to expell those *Mists*
and *Fogs* out of the *minds* of *Men*, and that *Papists*,
Jewes, *Turkes*, *Pagans*, be brought home, not onely
into the *common roade* and *way* of *Protestanisme*, but
to the grace of true *Repentance* and *Life* in *Christ*. [?]
I say, why not this more likely, by farre, then that
the *mists* and *fogs* of *Poperie* should over-cloud and
conquer that most *glorious Light*. [?]

Peace. 'Tis true, the holy *Historie* tells us of one
Sampson laying heapes upon heapes of the proudest
Philistims; of one *David*, and of his *Worthies*, en-
countring with and slaying their stoutest *Gyants* and
Champions, yet it is feared such is the depraved *nature*
of all *mankinde* (and not of the *English* onely) that
like a *corrupted* full *Body*, it sooner sucks in a *poi-*
soned breath of *Infection*, then the *purest Ayre* of
Truth, &c.

Truth. Grant this, I answer therefore (thirdly) If
any of many conscientiously turne *Papists*: I alledge
the *Experience* [184] of a holy, wise, and learned
man, experienced in our owne and other *States*
affaires, who affirms that he knew but few *Papists*

M^r John
Robinson
(deceased)
his Testi-

increafe, where much *Libertie* to *Papifts* was granted, ^{monie in a} yea fewer then where they were reſtrained: Yet fur- ^{Manuf:} ther, that in his *Conſcience* and *Judgement* he believed ^{from Hol-} and obſerved that ſuch Perſons as *conſcientiouſly* turned ^{land.} *Papifts*, (as believing *Poperie* the truer way to *Heaven* and *Salvation*) I ſay, ſuch Perſons were ordinarily more conſcionable, loving, and peaceable in their dealings, and neerer to Heaven then thouſands that follow a bare common *trade* and *roade* and *name* of *Proteſtant Religion*, and yet live without all *Life* of *Conſcience* and *Devotion* to *God*, and conſequently with as little *love* and *faithfulneſſe* unto *Men*.

Peace. But now to proceed; a third Speech of *A third* King *James* was, [*Perſecution* is the note of a *false* ^{Speech of}

¹ John Robinſon died at Leyden, March 1, 1625. His firſt work was publiſhed in 1609. The only one iſſued after his death was a Catechiſm which he had prepared as an appendix to a work by Rev. W. Perkins, (1558-1602,) entitled *The Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion gathered into Six Principles*; which, by the way, probably anticipated Williams's doctrine in regard to the Six Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. See page 21 *Supra*. The firſt edition of this which has ever been found was printed in 1642, ſeventeen years after Robinſon's deceaſe. But the edition of 1655 has a preface written by him, and which would ſeem to have been taken from an edition publiſhed at Leyden during his life. The manuſcript from which Williams quotes in the text, was probably never publiſhed as Robinſon's, and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe it to be ſome letter of his, ſent to ſome of his

Plymouth friends, which had come into Williams's hands. His works were re-publiſhed in London by the Congrega-tional Union in 1851, in three volumes. Among his Eſſays written in the latter part of his life, when he was more liberal than in his earlier days, is one *Of Religion and Differences and Diſputations* thereabout. In it he ſays, "Men are for the moſt part minded for or againſt toleration of diverſity of religions, according to the conformity which they themſelves hold, or hold not, with the country or kingdom where they live. Proteſtants living in the countries of Papifts commonly plead for toleration of religion: ſo do Papifts that live where Proteſtants bear ſway: though few of either, ſpecially of the clergy, as they are called, would have the other tolerated, where the world goes on their ſide." *Works*, 1. 40.

King
James con-
sidered.

Church, the wicked are *Besiegers*, the *Faithfull* are besieged, upon *Revel. 20.* | M^r Cotton here grants, that it is indeed a Note of a false *Church*, but not a certaine One; for, sayth he, which of all the *Prophets* did not the *Church* of the *Old Testament* persecute?

Persecu-
tion ordina-
rily the
marke of
a False
Church.

Truth. M^r Cotton granting *persecution* to be a degree of *Falshehood* and *Apostacie*, as he doth in his following words, he must also grant, that where such a *Doctrine* and *practice* prevayles, and the *Church* growes obstinate after all the *Lords* meanes used to reclaime, such a *Church* will proceede to further degrees, untill the whole be leavened with *Falshehood* and *Apostacie*, and the *Lord* divorceth her, and casts her out of his *Heart* and *Sight*; as he dealt with *Israel* and *Judah*: And it will be found no false, but a dutifull part of a faithful childe to abhorre the *whoredomes* of such an one, though his own *Mother*, who for her *obstinacie* in *whoredomes* is justly put away by his heavenly *Father*, but of that (the *Lord* assisting) more in its place.

Stephen
King of
Poland his
Speech.

Peace. Further, Whereas it was said, that M^r Cotton had passed by King *Stephen* of *Poland* his *Speech*, to wit, the true *Difference* between the *Civill* and *Spirituell* Government, M^r Cotton answers, that it is true, that the *Magistrate* cannot command their *Soules*, nor binde their *Consciencs*, nor punish their *Spirits*: All that he can doe is to punish the *Bodies* of Men for destroying or disturbing *Religion*.

185] *Truth.* It is true, the *Lord* alone reacheth the *Soules* or *Spirits* of Men, but he doth it two wayes.

First, Immediately stirring up the *Spirits* of the *Prophets*, by *Visions*, *Dreames*, &c.

Secondly, By instituted *Meanes* and *Ordinances*: *The Spirituall Power* of which is the Question: Now *Stephen King* of *Poland* professed that he was *King* of *bodies*, and not *Jesus be-* of *Consciences*: It being most true, that the *Lord* ^{trusted not} *Jesus* hath appointed *spirituall Rulers* and *Gover-* ^{with Civill} *nours*, to binde and loose *Soules* and *Consciences*, to ^{but spirit-} *wound* and *kill*, *Comfort* and *save* alive the *Spirits* ^{ters.} and *Consciences* of *Men*. This power *Christ Jesus* committed to his true *Messengers*; but oh, how many are there that pretend to this *Apostleship* or *Ministrie*, who yet have sold away this *spirituall Power* to the *Earthly* or *worldly powers*, upon an (implied secret) *Condition* or *Proviso*, to receive a broken *Reed* an *Arme* of *Flesh*, (instead of the *Everlasting Armes* of *Mercy*,) to protect them.

Peace. With your leave (*Deare Truth*) let me adde a second: If the *Magistrate* (as *M^r Cotton* sayth) punish the *body* for a *spirituall* offence, why doth he not punish by a *spirituall* power as a *spirituall Officer*, with a *spirituall Censure* and *punishment*?

Truth. *M^r Cotton* will tell us that the *bodies* of the *Israelites* were punished for *spirituall offences*: And we may againe truly affirme, that the very cutting off by the *materiall Sword* out of the *typicall Land* of *Canaan*, was in the type, a *spirituall punishment*.

Peace. *M^r Cotton* is not ignorant of this, and hath often taught of these *Types* from *Passages* on *Genesis* and other bookes of *Moses*, &c.

Truth. The *Father* of *Lights* graciously be pleased to set home the *light* he hath vouchsafed him, & fix and imprint the beames thereof in his *heart* and *affections* also.

An Argument used in Parliament against the Persecuting Bishops.

Peace. This Argument (of punishing the *body* for the *soules* good) I remember was feelingly repented by an honourable *Gentleman* in the *Parliament* against the *Bishops*, urging how contrary unto *Christ Jesus* those *Prelates* were; for *Christ Jesus* did make way for his working upon *Mens soules*, by shewing kinde-*ness* to their *bodies*, &c. but *Prelates* contrarily, &c.

Truth. All the *Angells* of *God* will one day witness, that *Christ Jesus* was never *Captain* to *Pope*, nor *Prelate*, *Presbyter*, no [186] nor *Independent*, *Emperour*, nor *King*, *Parliament*, nor *Generall Court*, who punish and afflict, persecute and torture the *bodies* of *Men* under pretence of a *spirituall* and *religious* medicine.

Peace. Yea, but sayth *Mr Cotton*, *Religion* is disturbed and destroyed, what shall be done?

Of disturbance of Religion.

Truth. *Religion* is disturbed and destroyed two *wayes*.

First, When the *Professors* or *Assemblies* thereof are persecuted, that is hunted and driven up and downe out of the *world*: Against such *Destroyers* or *Disturbers* (being *Tyrants* and *Oppressours*,) the *Civill Sword* ought to be drawn.

The Bishops as Tyrants justly suppressed, and the Parliament there- in prospered from Heaven.

Peace. The drawing of the *Sword of Justice* against such *Tyrants*, I believe hath prevailed in *Heaven*, for the *Parliaments successes* and *prosperitie*: The turning from the *violence* that was in the hands of those *Men of Bloud* the *Bishops*, (as in the *Men of Ninivies* case) hath laid the long and violent storme of *Fire* and *Bloud*, &c.

Truth. Yea let the most renowned *Parliament* of *England*, and all *England* know, that when they

cease to listen to *Daniells counsell* to *Belshazzar*, to *Daniells* wit, to shew *Mercy* to the *poore*, (even the poorest ^{*Counsel to*} and most afflicted in the *World*) the *Conscienc*es of ^{*Bel-shaz-*} *Men*, then is their *Parliamentarie* ^{*zar pre-*} *Glory* and *Tran-* ^{*serveth*} *quillitie* eclipsed: Till then I confidently believe, ^{*Parlia-*} their *Government* (which hath now so many yeares ^{*ments &*} with so many *Wonders* continued) shall not be num- ^{*King-*} *bred*, nor another fatall change surprize them. ^{*domes.*}

But now (2) the *Disturbance* or *Destruction* of *Religion* is *spirituall*, by false *Teachers*, false *Prophets*, by spirituall *Rebells* and *Trayters* against the *Worship* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*: Against which *Disturbers* or *Destroyers*, if *Christ Jesus* have not provided sufficient *spirituall* *Defence*, let *Moses* (his ancient *Type*,) be said to exceede him in *Faithfulnessse*, *David* in holy *zeale* and *affection* to the house of *God*, and *Solomon* in *wisdome* and heavenly *prudence*, in ordering the *Affaires* of the holy *Worship* of *God*.

Peace. But further, whereas it was said, that to confound these (to wit, a *Civill* and *Spirituall* *Government*) was *Babell* and *Jewish*: Mr *Cotton* replies, *That* is *Babell* to tolerate and advance *Idolatrie*. 2. (Sayth he) though *Christ* hath abolished a *Nationall Church-State*, which *Moses* set up in the Land of *Canaan*, [187] yet *Christ* never abolished a *Nationall Civill State*, nor the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses*, which were of *Morall Equitie*, and therefore (sayth he) If the true *Christs* blood goe for the planting of the *Church*, let the false *Christs* goe for supplanting it.

Truth. I answer; *Babell* was infamous for *Pride*,

*Touching
the Na-
tionall
Church of
Israel.*

for *Confusion* or *Disorder*, for *Idolatrie*, for *Tyrannie*: Now let all persecuting *Cities* and *Kingdomes* be examined and see if they have been cleare from any of these: and especially from *Babells confusion* and *disorder*, from monstrous mingling of *Spirituell* and *Civill*, the *Devills Worship* with *Gods vessels*: It was no *Confusion* in the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* for the Power of that *Nation*, in the hands of *Kings* and *Civill Rulers*, to purge that *Nationall Church* by *Nationall* force of *weapons* and *Death*: But since M^r *Cotton* acknowledgeth that *Christ* hath abolished that *Nationall Church*, and established *Congregationall Churches*, (in some of which possibly may be no *Civill Magistrate* fearing *God*, for few *wise* or *noble* are called, and consequently few *godly* or *Christian Magistrates* professing *Christ Jesus*) What is this but *Babell* or a *Babylonish* mixture of the *Old* and *New Testament*, *Nationall* and *Congregationall Churches* power and *practices* together?

*Israel a
miraculous
Nation.*

Peace. 2. What if *Christ Jesus* have not abolished a *Nationall Church State*, it is sufficient that he hath abolished a *Nationall Church*. And if so, then in *Church matters* those *Nationall Judicialls*, and the use of those *Nationall Weapons* and *Punishments*, in attending upon such a *Nationall Church*: Yea what colour of *Morall Equitie* is there that all the *Nations* of the *World* (most of which never heard of *Christ*) should be ruled by such *Lawes* and *Punishments* as were *peculiarly* and *miraculously* given and appointed to one selected and culd out *Nation*, conceived, borne, and brought up (as I may so speake) from first to last, by extraordinarie, and *miraculous dispensation*?

Peace. There may be (sayth M^r Cotton) *difference* between the *Nations* professing *Christianitie*, and other *Nations*.

Truth. There is indeed great *Difference*: There are two sorts of *Nations* or *Peoples* of the *World*, ^{Two sorts of the Nations of the World.} which shall be *Fewell* for the devouring flames of the Lord *Jesus*, 2 Theff. 1. [8.] First, such as know not *Christ Jesus*, of which sort the greatest part of the *Nations* of the *World* (beyond all colour of comparifon) confift. 2. Such as have heard a found, and make fome profession [188] of the Name of *Christ Jesus*, and yet obey him not as *Lord* and *King*, &c.

Now it is true at the *Tribunall* of this dreadfull *Judge*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, shall finde an eafier doome, then shall *Bethsaida*, *Chorazin*, *Capernaum*, *Jerusalem*, &c. And M^r Cotton need not feare the efcaping of a falfe *Christ*, when all *Nations* professing *Christianitie* (*Papist* or *Protestant*) (if yet found difobedient to the true *Christ*) shall paffe under a more fierie Sentence then all *Mahumetane* and *Pagan* Countries.

Peace. M^r Cotton will not ftick to fubfcribe to this; But, the falfe *Christs* blood (sayth he) ought now, to be fpilt.

Truth. Since there are fo many falfe *Christs* (as ^{Touching the true and falfe Christs.} the true *Christ* Prophefied) M^r Cotton muft unavoydably name and detect and convict thofe falfe *Christs*, *Popish* and *Protestant*, &c. upon whom he paffeth fuch a prefent Sentence. He muft alfo direct the way how the true *Christ* may fhed the blood of the falfe *Christs*. When M^r Cotton hath done this faith-

fully and impartially (according to his *Conscience* and present *Judgement*) what Reader will not at first view see rising up from such Premises these foure *Conclusions*?

First, Amongst so many *Christs* extant (that is visible *Christs Head* and *Body*) in the *Christian Anti-christian* World, there can but One *Christ* be found to be true.

Secondly, That *Christ* which M^r Cotton professeth (according to his *Conscience*) will be *He*.

Thirdly, All such *Christs* as are extant, beside M^r Cottons, *Head* and *Body*, ought impartially to be put to *Death*, as *false*, *counterfeit*, *blasphemous*, &c.

Fourthly, Such as embrace his *Christ*, that is, be of his *Church* and *Conscience*, are bound (if they once get *power* in their hands) to pursue with *fire* and *sword*, and to shed the blood of all the false *Christs*, that is, the severall sorts of *false* or *Anti-christian* *Worshippers*.

Peace. Oh how *wise* and *Righteous* is the *Lord*, in letting loose the *Wolfe* and *Lyon* (*persecutors* and *Hunters*) upon his *Sheepe* and *People*, that by their owne painfull sence of such bloudie *violence* and *crueltie*, he may graciously purge out the *Malignant venomous Humours* of such fowle *Antichristian* and bloudie *Doctrines*? But to the next, the King of *Bohemia* his saying. [189] Whereas it was said that in this *Kings Speech* M^r Cotton had passed by that *Foundation* in *Grace* and *Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced, and that such *forcing* is no other then a *Spiritual Rape*.

King of
Bohemia
his Speech.

M^r Cotton replies, It was not passed by, but pre-

“vented in stating the *Question*, where it was said, It
 “is not lawfull to Censure any, no not for *Errour* in
 “*Fundamentall* Points of *Doctrin*e or *Worship*, till the
 “*Conscience* of the *offendour* be first convinced (out of
 “the *Word* of *God*) of the dangerous *Errour* of his
 “way, and then if he will persist, it is not out of
 “*Conscience*, but against his *Conscience*, as the Apostle
 “sayth, (*Tit.* 3. 11.) and so he is not persecuted for
 “cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his
 “*Conscience*.

Truth. I answer, the forcing of a *Woman*, that
 is, the violent Acting of *uncleanness* upon her *bodie* ^{*Spirituell*}
 against her will, we count a Rape: By Proportion ^{*Rapes.*}
 that is a *Spirituell* or *Soule-rape*, which is a forcing
 of the *Conscience* of any Person, to Acts of *Worship*,
 which the Scripture entitles by the name of the
 Marriage bed, *Cant.* 1.

This forcing of *Conscience* was in an high measure
 the branded sinne of that great typicall *Machiavel*
Jeroboam, who made *Israel* to *Worship* before the
Golden Calves: And this is the abominable *practice*
 of the Second Beast, who compells all to take the
 Marke of the first *Beast*, and this is the sinne of
 (the mysticall *Ammon*) the Princes of *Europe*, and of
 the *Antichristian* World, those mysticall effeminate
Ababs, who give their power to the *Beast*, them-
 selves (together with that Man of *Sinne* and *Filthi-*
nesse (the *Pope*) Practicing most odious spirituall
uncleanness upon the *Consciences* of the *Nations* of
 the *Earth*.

2. *Peace.* Deare *Truth*, who knowes not whose
 voyce and Song this is, but that, of all the bloudie

All persecutors contumeliously object against Conscience.

Bonnors, Gardiners, and most devouring persecutors that ever have or shall legally in way and pretence of *Justice, persecute*. [You pretend *Conscience* that you dare not come to *Church* because of *Conscience*, that so to *sweare, submit, subscribe, or conforme*, is against your *Conscience*, that you are persecuted for your *Conscience*, and forced against your *Conscience*.

Amnon his ravishing of Tamar, a Type.

Truth. Indeed, what is this before the flaming eyes of *Christ*, but as (*Amnon*-like in the type) some lustfull *Ravisher* deales [190] with a beautifull *Woman*, first using all subtle *Arguments* and gentle *perswasions*, to allure unto their spirituall *Lust* and *Filthinesse*, and where the *Conscience* freely cannot yeeld to such *Lust* and *Folly* (as *Tamar* said to *Amnon*) then a forcing it by *Penalties, Penall Lawes* and *Statutes*? Yea, what is this but more filthy and abominable then is commonly practiced against *ravished Women*, to wit, a perswading *Conscience* that it is *obstinate*, obstinate against its knowledge, that a man might lawfully have yeelded, that he is convinced of the *lawfulnessse* of the *Act*, and therefore may justly be punished for repelling such *Arguments*, and resisting such *perswasions* against the *Conviction* of his owne *Conscience*.

A Query, who shall judge, whether Conscience be convicted.

3. *Peace.* It is a common *Question*, made by most, who shall be Judge of this *Convicted Conscience*; shall the lustfull *Ravisher* (the *Persecutor*) be Judge? Will the burning Rage of his *Spirituall Filthinesse* and *Antichristian Beastialitie* cause no shaking of the scales of *Justice*? And will M^r *Cotton* indeed (except he suspend them) have all the *Civill Magistrates, or Civill States, or Generall Assemblies, or Courts* of

People in the *World* (according to their *severall Constitutions*) fit *Judges* o're *Conscience*, to wit, when the poore *ravished Consciences* of *Men* are *convinced*.

Truth. What is this, but (in truth) to submit the *Soules* and *Consciences* of the *Saints* (yea the *Conscience* of the *Lord Jesus* in them,) unto the *World* that lyes in wickednesse (and to the *Devill* in it) out of which *God* hath chosen; but few, that are *wise*, or that are *Great*, *Rich*, or *Noble*.

4. And to end this *Passage*, what is this, but to destroy that distinction of a true and false *Conscience*, which the holy *Spirit* expressely maketh, telling (2 *Thessal.* 2. [11. 12.]) of *Antichristians* that make *Conscience* of *Lyes*, believing them *conscientiously* for *Truths*. What is it now to force a *Papist* to *Church*, but a *Rape*, a *Soule-Rape*? he comes to *Church*, that is, comes to *Church-Worship*, which his *Conscience* tells him is false, and this to save his *Estate*, *Credit*, &c. What is this in a *Papist*, but a yeelding unwillingly to be forced and *ravished*? Take an instance of holy *Cranmer*, and many other faithfull *Witnesses* of the *truth* of *Jesus*, who being forced or *ravished* by *terroure* of *Death*, *subscribed*, *abjured*, went to *Mass*e, but yet against their *Wills* and *Consciences*. In both these *Instances* of *Papist* and *Protestant*, M^r *Cotton* must confesse [191] a *Soule-Ravishment*; for, the *Conscience* of a *Papist* is not *convinced* that it is his *Dutie* to worship *God* by the *English common Prayer-Booke*, or *Directorie*, &c. And the *Consciences* of many are not *convinced* but that it is their sinne to come at either the *Papists* or common *Protestants Worship*. So both *Papist* and *Protestant* are forced and *ravished*.

by *force of Armes*, (as a Woman by a Lustfull *Ravisher*) against their *Soules* and *Consciences*.

Peace. Again, in that *King of Bohemia's Speech* Mr *Cotton* passed by that most true and lamentable *experience* of all *Ages*, to wit, that *persecution*, for cause of *Conscience*, hath ever proved pernicious, and hath been the cause of great *Alterations* and *changes* in *States* and *Kingdomes*. To this Mr *Cotton* replies, No *experience* in any *Age* did ever prove it *pernicious* to punish *Seducing Apostates*, after due *Conviction* of the *Errour* of their way: And he asks, wherein did the burning of *Servetus* prove *pernicious* to *Geneva*, or the just Execution of many *Popish Priests* to *Queene Elizabeth*, or the *English State*?

Truth. I answer, though no *Historie* did expresse what horrible and pernicious *mischiefs* the persecuting of the *Arians* and others caused in the *World*: yet is it lamentably sufficient to the Point, that all *Ages* testifie (and I had almost said all *Nations*) how pernicious this *Doctrine* hath been in raising the devouring flames of *Fire* and *Sword*, about *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

*Wars for
Religion.*

Peace. Later Times have rendred the observation of that *King* most lamentably true, in the many great *Desolations*, in *Germany*, *Poland*, *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Bohemia*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Low Countries* (not to speake of the mighty warres between those dreadfull *Monarchies* of the *Turkes* and *Persians*, and other *Nations*) to the *Flames* whereof although other causes have intermingled, the *Matters* of *Hereſie*, *Blasphemie*, *Idolatry*, &c. have been the chiefest sparkes and *Bellowses*.

Truth. It is true (as Mr Cotton sayth,) it hath pleased the God of Heaven to spare some particular places, and to preserve wonderfully for his Name and Mercy sake, Geneva, England, &c. &c. When they have been besieged and invaded: Yet Mr Cotton confesseth, that Queene Elizabeth by that course had like to have fired the Christian World in Combustion, which though it [192] pleased God to prevent, yet later times have shewen how pernicious this Doctrine hath proved unto England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. in the slaughter of so many hundreth thousand Papists and Protestants, upon the very point (principally) of Hereſie, Idolatrie, &c.

*The bloudie
Tenent
Guilty of
all the
bloud of
Papists and
Protest-
ants lately
ſpilt.*

Peace. To end this Chapter: To that observation that Persecution for cause of Conscience was practiced most in England, and such places where Poperie reignes, implying that such practices proceed from the great Whore, and her Daughters: Mr Cotton replies, it is no marvaile he passed by this observation in the Kings speech, for it was not the Speech of the King, but of the Prisoner, and it was not the persecuting of Antichristians, but of Nicknamed Puritants, and of them too without Conviction of the Errour of their way: He addeth that he could never see “Warrant to call that Church an Whore, that wor-
“shipped the true God onely in the name of Jesus,
“and depended on him alone for Righteousnesse and
“Salvation, and that it is (at least) a base part of a
“childe to call his Mother whore, who bred him and
“bred him to know no other Father, but her lawfull
“Husband the Lord Jesus Christ

¹ *The Pouring out of the Seven Vials, &c.* p. 7. See *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 189.

*The strongest
Arme
& sword
the ordina-
rie Judge
of the Con-
viction of
Conscience.*

Truth. Whether the *Observation* was the *Kings*, or the *Prisoners*, yet it was passed by: And if those *Puritants* or *Protestants* persecuted, were not *convinced*, Himselfe (as he here sayth) never saw War-rant, that is, was *convinced*, for to call such a *Church* as he here describeth, an *Whore*, yet not a few of his *opposites* will say, and that aloud, that *He* and *they* were or might have been convinced, what ever *He* or *they* themselves thought. The truth is, the *carnall Sword* is commonly the *Judge* of the *conviction* or *obstinacie* of all *supposed Hereticks*. Hence the faithfull *Witnesses* of *Christ*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, had not a word to say in the *Disputations* at *Oxford*:¹ Hence the *Non-conformists* were cryed out as obstinate Men, abundantly convinced by the Writings of *Whitgift* and others: And so in the Conference before King *James* at *Hampton Court*, &c.²

But concerning the *Church* of *England*, whether a *daughter* or no of the *Great Whore* of *Rome*, It is

¹ A Disputation was held at Oxford, April 16, 18, 1554, and Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, were by warrant of Queen Mary removed from the Tower to Oxford to defend the doctrine of the Reformers. Fox reports it in full. *Book of Martyrs*, iii. 36-70.

² The Conference was held at Hampton Court, January 14, 16, 18, 1604. Only four Puritan ministers appeared against the King, nine bishops and as many more dignitaries of the church. The King closed it, saying, "I will have none of this arguing. Therefore let them conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it. The bishops will give them some time, but if they are of

an obstinate and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced into conformity." Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, i. 233.

Says Mr. Hallam, "In the accounts that we read of this meeting we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the King, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence toward their opponents. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of their dispute what they might, over four abashed and intimidated adversaries." *Const. History*, 173.

not here feasonable to repeate what the *Witnesses* of *Touching*
Christ to *Bonds*, *Banishments*, and *Death* (whom Mr *the Nation-*
Cotton here calls the rigid *Seperation*) have alledged *all Church*
in this case. I thinke it here sufficient to say two *of Eng-*
[193] things. First, Mr *Cotton* himselfe is thought *land.*
to believe that it is not a *profession* of *words* contain-
ing many *fundamentall Doctrines* that makes a people
a true *Church*, who professing to know *God*, yet in *Reall de-*
workes deny him; notwithstanding that amongst *nying, the*
them by *Gods* gracious *Dispensation* much good may *greatest de-*
be wrought by many. *nying of*
Christ

2. Mr *Cotton* himselfe will not say that ever *Christ* *Jefus.*
Jefus was married to a *Nationall Church*, which all
men know the *Church* of *England* ever was, and Mr
Cotton elfewhere acknowledgeth (as *Nationall*) to be
none of *Christs*, but onely *Churches* *Congregationall*.

Exam: of Chap. 60. Concerning the Romane Em-
perours, which did or did not persecute.

Peace. **V**Hereas it was answered, that *Godly*
Persons (as some *Godly Emperours*)
might doe evill, to wit, in *persecuting*: And *ungodly*
Emperours in not persecuting, might doe well, &c.
Mr *Cotton* replies, This begs the *Question*, to say that
Kings alledged by the *Prisoner* did that which was
good, but *Kings* alledged by Mr *Cotton* (though better
persons) did that which was *Evill*.

Truth. I think Mr *Cotton* mistakes the *poore Prif-*
oner if he conceives him to have argued from the

Number, or (by way of *comparison*) the *Qualitie* or *Goodnesse* of the *Kings*. I am sure he mistaketh the *Discusser*, who argues neither from their *Persons*, nor *Number*, nor *Practises*, but from the *waight* of their *Speeches*, *qualified* onely with the *consideration* of their *State*: Their *Speeches* M^r *Cotton* passed by, but now hath waighed, though not so fully as it may please *God* to cause *Himselfe*, or *others* to doe hereafter.

Peace. I conceive it to be a further mistake, to thinke the *Discusser* accounted the *Persons* alledged by M^r *Cotton* better *Persons* then those alledged by the *Prisoner*.

Truth. The *Discusser* compared them not, but desired that their *Speeches* and *Arguments* might have their just and due *waight*, and then I believe it will be found, not a *begging*, but a *winning* of the *Question*, even from the *Testimonie* of some *Kings* themselves.

194] Chap. 61. *replying to Chap. 64. Examined.*

Peace. **I**N this Chapter *God* is pleased to leave M^r *Cotton* to fall into two *Evills*, then which (ordinarily) *greater* cannot be among the *sonnes* of *Men*: I speake not of the *Aggravations* of *malice* and *obstinacie*, which I hope the most gracious *Lord* will keepe him from, but of the *finnes* themselves in *themselves*: The One is monstrous *Blasphemie* and abominable profanation of the most holy Name of his most *High* and holy *Maker*, &c. The second

extreameſt Crueltie and Tyrannie againſt Men his fellow Creatures.

For the firſt, after a new refined faſhion and drefs, he projects how to turne this whole Dunghill of the corrupt and rotten World, into a moſt ſweet and fragrant Garden of the Church, or Dove of Chriſt.

Two high
Transgreſ-
ſions object-
ed againſt
M^r Cot-
ton.

For the ſecond, he contents not Himſelfe with the Severitie and Crueltie of former times exerciſed by the Emperours profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, againſt ſuch, whom they reputed Hereticks, but blames them for applying too favourable and gentle Medicines of Exile and Banishment, and in plaine tearmes he ſayth, It had been better they had put them to death.

Truth. Your obſervation (ſweet Peace) is full of pietie and Mercy: It is moſt true, that a private opinion, or an Aét of Antichriſtianisme and Idolatrie, like a dead flie, may cauſe a ſweet pot of Chriſtian Oyntment, to yeeld a ſtincking favour, but ſuch a Doctrine, of ſuch a generall Nature and extent, as reaches to all men, to all the World (in my apprehenſion) ſhould cauſe Men to feare and tremble at ſuch Rocks, againſt which ſuch Gallant veſſels may ſtrike, and ſplit, if the moſt holy and jealous God, be pleaſed a little to withdraw his holy hand from the ſteering of them.

Peace. Let me (Deare Truth) ſumme up the Heads, to which I ſhall requeſt your Conſideration.

It is true (ſayth M^r Cotton) when God advanced Conſtantine and other Chriſtian Emperours to ſit on the Throne, the Church ſoone became a Wilderneſſe, and he alſo ſeemeth to conſent that the unknowing

Touching
the Ro-
mane Em-
perours

*practices
in Relig-
ious Af-
faires.*

“zeale of *Constantine* and other good *Emperours* did
“more hurt to *Christianitie*, then the raging fury of
195] “bloudie *Neroes*: But withall he addeth that
“their *unknowing* zeale did not lye in punishing noto-
“rious *Hereticks*, *Seducers*, &c. And he sayth, that
“the *Church* never had hurt by such *punishments*. He
“affirmeth that it is no *Sollecisme* in *Religion* for the
“whole *World* to become *Christian*: that the *World*
“became *Antichristian* by the *tolleration* of *Princes*,
“and their advancing of *Church affaires*, together
“with the *unwatchfullnesse* of such being advanced:
“that if the *World* had renounced *Paganisme*, and
“professed *Christ* to be the *Sonne of God*, but yet
“had been kept from the *Fellowship* of the *Church*
“till they had approved their *profession* by a sincere
“*conversation*, it had been no *Sollecisme*, &c.

Further, He sayth, the *Christian Emperours* did
“permit *Hereticks* to live in the field of the *World*,
“that they feldome or never put them to Death for
“*hereticall pravitie* (though it had been better (sayth
“he) they had so done with *some* of them, but onely
“*expelled* them from *populous Cities* and *Countries*,
“where the *Gangrene* might spread, &c.

*Christs
Garden
gaines by
violent
Stormes,
and looseth
by sweete
Sunshines.*

Truth. You have well summd up (*Sweet Peace*) I
shall briefly touch these *Heads*, with *Gods* assistance;
and first concerning the zeale of the *Romane Emper-
ours*. It is confest by *M^r Cotton*, that upon the good
Emperours coming to the *Throne*, the *Church* soone
became a *Wildernesse*, and that was a greater hurt
and mischief then ever befell the *Saints* and *Churches*
under the fierie *persecution* of the most bloudie *Neroes*;
surely such zeale that brought forth such fruit to *Chris-*

tianitie might seeme justly to be suspected not to be kindled from *Heaven*, but from *Men*.

2. It seemes not *reasonable* to the weakeſt understanding, nor ſuitable to the *wiſdome* and conſtant *The Ro-*
care and *love* of *Chriſt Jeſus* to his *Wife* and *Spouſe* ^{*mane Em-*}
in his *abſence*, that the *Romane Emperours* ſhould be ^{*perours.*}
ſuch *Godly Perſons*, and that alſo neither by *Chriſt*
Jeſus nor his *Apoſtles* or *Meffengers* the leaſt word
ſhould be directed to them, when, as yet, they were
extant, in *Chriſts* and his *Meffengers* times; and (by
the *bloudie Tenent*) muſt be ſuppoſed *inveſted* with ſo
high a *calling* too, ſo high a *worke* and *dutie*, as higher
is not to be performed in the whole *World* (and that
Ex Officio) to wit, the *Eſtabliſhing*, *Governing*, *Re-*
forming, &c. the *Church*, the *Spouſe*, and *Kingdome*
of *Chriſt Jeſus*.

196] *Peace*. 2. The *Church* and *Servants* of *Chriſt*
had great hurt (notwithſtanding M^r *Cottons* contrary *The Arri-*
beliefe) by the *Emperours* perfecuting, of whom they ^{*ans perſe-*}
judged *hereticall*, partly in that the *Arrians* were ^{*cuted and*}
hardned by their *ſufferings*, and *Arrianisme* increaſed ^{*perſecut-*}
by the *ſufferings* of the *profefſours* of it; as alſo that ^{*ing.*}
the *Chriſtians* were more ſeverely perfecuted (as hath
often alſo come to paſſe (in the *Interchanges* between
the *Papiſt* and the *Proteſtant*) when the *Arrians*
came to weare the *Sword*, and the *Orthodox Chriſ-*
tians were under *Hatches*.

Truth. 3. But that the *whole World* that wonders
after and worſhippeth the *Beaſt*, ſhould yet poſſibly
be of the ſmall *Number*, that follow the *Lambe*, and
ſtand oppoſite to the *Beaſt*, on *her*, that follow the
Lambe, and ſtand oppoſite to the *Beaſt*, on Mount

The great Difference between this World and Christ. Zion: That the *World* upon whom the *vialls* of *plagues* and *vengeance* are to be powred according to the infallible *Prophecies* (not to speak of the *World* from other *Scriptures*) that this whole *World* (I say) should be brought into such an *Onenes* with *Christ Jesus*, seemes so croffe to the *fundamentall Enmitie* between *Christs Seede* and the *Serpents*, to the *priviledges* of the *Saints*, to the *puritie* of *Christ*, to the *streame* of *Scripture*, and in particular to the sweete last *Will* and *Testament* of the *Lord Jesus*, and the *nature* of his particular *Flocks*, &c. That I cannot wonder sufficiently, how any man professing but a small *Knowledge* of the *Mysteries* and *Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*, should be so vailed, so obscured, so to write of the state of *Christs Church* and the *World*, as *Mr Cotton* doth?

Peace. *Christ Jesus* (Blessed *Truth*) gave not thanks to his most holy, most wise *Father* in vaine, for hiding from *Wise* and *Prudent*, and opening to *Babes* and *Sucklings*.

A Christiantie strange from Christ. *Truth.* 4. But further, Such a *Conversion* of *People* from *Idolatrie* to *Christianitie*, as fits them to be *professours* of the *Sonne* of *God*, but yet not fits them for the *Fellowship* of *Christians* in *Church State*, I finde not in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*. Surely the *Conversion* of the *Thessalonians* was not such, 2 [1] *Thess.* 1. [9.] Who turned not onely from *Idolls*, but to serve the living and *true God*, which service of *God* in *Christ* no Soule uprightly in love with *Christ Jesus*, but (in its measure) longs after, as vehemently and cordially as ever *chast Spouse* after her dearest earthly *Husbands* prefence and *Enjoyment*, *Cant.* 1. & 3. & 5.

Peace. Gods Spirit (in *John*) describes one Difference, &c. [197] between the true Spirit and *Professours*, and the false, to wit, that such as acknowledge (that is truly as I conceive) *Christ Jesus* to become in the flesh, are borne of God.

Truth. Yea therefore consequently such a Spirit cannot be of *Jesus*, that makes such a profession of *Christ Jesus* as the *Devills* themselves may make, and (even for want of *Regeneration* and *Personall Grace*;) the *professours* are not fit for the Fellowship of the true *Christian Worship*, and *Worshippers*. *Antichristian Cbristianitie.*

5. But lastly, if M^r Cotton, or any of his bloudie Judgement woare the *Imperiall Crowne* of the *Worlds Majestie*, what slaughters shall we imagine the *World* should heare and feele? Whether would such *fierie zeale* transport Men? Yea what an *Earthly Dunghill Religion* and *Worship* should the most *High God* be served with, fit onely for the *Dunghill Gods* and *Goddeses*, whom all *Asia* (as the *Towne-clarke* speakes) and the *World* worshippingeth. [Acts 19. 27.]

Peace. If the Report of M^r Cottons interpreting that *Scripture* of *Serving God* with all our *Might*, &c. be true, to wit, of employing our *Civill Armes* and *Forces* to the utmost, and that against other *Peoples* professing *Idolatrie* and *Antichristianisme*: His *Conscience* (as I conceive) must needs force on and presse after, an *universall Conquest* of all *Consciences*, and under that (like those bloudie *Spaniards*, *Turkes* and *Popes*) lay under that *faire cloake*, the *Rule* and *Dominion* over all the *Nations* of the *Earth*. *The bloudie Tenent tends to an universall Conquest of the whole World.*

Truth. But may not M^r Cotton better listen to the voyce of the *Lord Jesus*, saying to him and such of *The bloudie Tenent in its colours.*

his *bloudie Tenent*, You know not of what *Spirit* you are of: Were the *Emperours* too favourable (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) in but *Banishing*? How *keene* a *Sword* would Mr *Cotton* draw against so many *Millions* of *Gangrene Soules* throughout the *Turkish* and the *Popish World*?

Peace. Oh, how farre different would Mr *Cottons* *Sword* be from the *Sword* of the *Spirit* of *God*, proceeding from the *Mouth* of *Christ Jesus*, yet sharpe enough with *two edges*, piercing between *Soule* and *Spirit*, &c.

Truth. Yea how farre different from the *Meeke Spirit* of the *Lambe* of *God*, who came not to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them, yea how different from the former *meeke* and noted gentle [198] *Temper* of Mr *Cottons* own *Spirit*, now over-heat and enflamed by his *unmercifull* and *bloudie Tenent*?

Exam: of Chap. 62. replying to Chap. 65.

Peace. **W**HEN Mr *Cotton* was justly observed to use the *Language* of *Lyon-like persecution* in these words, “[More and greater Princes “then these you mention have not tollerated *Here-ticks* and *Schismaticks*, notwithstanding their pretence of *Conscience*, and arrogating the *Crowne* of “*Martyrdome* to their sufferings] He defendeth such *Language* by the *Scripture Freedome* in such *Tearmes* against *Sinners*, which sayth he, the *Discusser* acknowledgeth.

Truth. In holy Scripture are many *Expressions* full of *Holinesse*, *Gravitie*, *Love*, *Meeknesse*, &c. which yet are wrested by us poore Men to *unholy* and *unchristian* Ends and purposes. How many wofully pervert many grave and heavenly Passages and Expressions of holy Scripture to base and filthy feasting? How many from some sharp Expressions of Christ Jesus and Paul (in cases) take licence to raile and call Men all to naught, in *Wrath*, *Revenge*, and *Passion*? And how many out of *pride* and *false zeale* trampling upon the *Heads* and *Consciencs* of all Men, are ready (not in an holy Meeke and Christian way but) in a *Pharisaicall*, *Bishop-like* and *Pope-like* way, to roare and thunder out against Gods meekest Servants the odious tearmes of *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. Which tearmes though used in holy Scripture, yet never in such a way, as commonly and constantly the bloudie and persecuting expresse themselves in.

No Booke
or Writing
ever so
abused as
the holy
Writing
& Script-
ure of
God is.

The Lan-
guage of
persecu-
tors.

Peace. But what or whom meanes M^r Cotton in this passage, what Language have they learned, who in point of worship have left Zion, but not the Gates and Suburbes of Babylon, for they set up Bull-warkes of *Impunitie* to secure them.

Truth. Surely M^r Cotton knowes that none that plead against the *Civill Power* and *Weapons* in *Spirituall Matters*, but they also maintaine, that, there ought to be in vigorous use the *Spirituall* and two edged *Sword* that comes forth of *Christs Mouth* (not for the *Impunitie* but) for the *Ruine* and *Destruction* of all *Babells Brats* and *Abominations*.

199] *Peace.* M^r Cotton spends many lines, and quotes

Austin to prove, that *Julians* End of tollerating *Hereſie* to grow, was to choake *Chriſtianitie*.

*Julian his
Tollera-
tion.*

Truth. What ever were *Julians* End, yet I deny that *Tolleration* of the weedes of *Hereſie* and blaſphemous *Religion* (*Paganish, Turkiſh, Jewiſh, Popiſh*) in the field of the *Civill State* and *World*, hath power to choake the vitalls of *Chriſtianitie* in the *Garden* or *Bodie* the *Church* of *Chriſt Jeſus*.

*Touching
Infection of
faſſe Doc-
trine, &c.*

And concerning *Infection*, It is to be obſerved that when the holy *Scriptures* ſpeakes by the *Similitudes* of *Leaven*, *Gangrene*, or *Poyſonfull weedes*, of *Wolves*, or *ſcabbed ſheepe*, &c. it is commonly with reſpect to ſuch Evills got in among the *Saints* and *Churches*, the *Flocks* and *Gardens* of *Chriſt*, where ſuch *Leaven*, *weedes*, &c. tollerated may ſpread and infect: But what is this to the *Lyons*, *Beares*, or *Wolves*, not to be ſuffered in the *Wilderneſſe*, or *Swine*, or *Dogs*, in the common *high wayes*; or *weedes* in the *Common* or *Foreſt*, which all may be, and yet the *Garden*, *Body*, and *Flock* of *Chriſt* be pure and ſafe from ſuch *Infection*.

Peace. One *paſſage* more is very Conſiderable. In former *Diſcourſe* about the *Tares* M^r *Cotton* was large in proving the *permiſſion* of *weedes*, even in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and that untill *Chriſts* *Comming*, and that after they be diſcovered to be *Hypocrites*.

*Hypocrites
tollerated
in the
Church,
but not in
the World.*

Truth. O what a *Diſtance* is between that *Doctrine* and this here? There the *Tares* muſt not be touched in the *Garden* of the *Church*, here they muſt not be ſuffered abroad in the field of the *World*, for feare of choaking the good plants in the *Garden* of *Chriſt*. Who can finde out how theſe *Doctrines* ſuit with *Godlineſſe*, with *Reason*, or *Themſelves*?

Peace. But now you speake of *suiting*: It is (sayth M^r Cotton) (for a close) a plaine *Contradiſtion* of the Discuſſers former Speech to ſay, that *perſecuting* of others was a meanes of *choaking Chriſtianitie*, whereas he had ſaid, that *Constantines unknowing zeale* did more hurt to *Chriſts Kingdome*, then the raging furie of the moſt bloudie *Neroes*.

Truth. Let the words be well weighed, and no ſuch *Affirmation* will be found: The words are; “[It was not when *Chriſtians* lodged in cold *Prifons*, “but in *Downe Beds* of *Eaſe*, and [200] *perſecuted* “others.] The Diſcuſſer made not *perſecution* to be a meanes of *choaking Chriſtianitie*, but attributes the *Loſſe* of *Chriſtians Life* and *Love*, to thoſe *Beds* of their abuſed *Sweete proſperitie*.

2. If he had made *perſecution* a meanes to *choake Chriſtianitie*, it had been the *perſecution* of *Chriſtians* among *Themſelves*, and not the *perſecution* of bloudie *Neroes*: Which yet if it had been ſo, it might yet be no *Contradiſtion*, for *Neroes perſecution* might doe hurt, although *Constantines unknowing zeale* might doe much more.

Exam: of Chap. 63. replying to Chap. 66.

Peace. **M**Aſter Cotton here being underſtood to ſmile on Q: *Elizabeth* for perſecuting the *Papiſts*, and to frowne on K: *James* for perſecuting the (ſo named) *Puritans*, he denies neither, but inſiſts onely upon the *Number*, that as *many* and

as great *Princes* are against *Tolleration* as for it, and in particular Q: *Elizabeth* and K: *James*.

Truth. I say (as before) I should never use an *Argument* from the *Number* of *Princes* (no more then from the *Number* of any other men) for any truth of *Christ Jesus*: Who as he was not pleased himselfe to be borne of the *sons* of *Nobles*, so hath he not chosen many *Nobles* and *Wise men* of this *World* to be borne of him: Yet 2. If that be his *Argument*, he hath not satisfied, in naming these two, for more were named by the *Prisoner*, and besides one of these *Witnesses*, K: *James* abundantly declared himselfe, not onely against *persecuting* of *Papists*, but against all *persecution* in generall, what ever otherwise or afterwards his practices were against some Persons, as M^r *Cotton* too truely alledgeth.

*Touching
the Perse-
cution of
K: James
and Q:
Elizabeth.*

Truth. In the next *Passage* the *Discusser* having objected that both Q: *Elizabeth* and K: *James* did persecute according to their *Consciences*, and arguing why should the one (namely) K: *James* be more blamed for *persecuting* according to his *Conscience*, then Q: *Elizabeth* for *persecuting* according to hers: M^r *Cotton* distinguisheth of *Consciences*: The *Queenes* sayth he, was rightly informed, but the *Kings* was not. When it was replied, [201] that either K: *James*, and such *Princes*, whose *Consciences* (according to M^r *Cottons* *Conscience*) are ill informed, must act according to their *Consciences*, or else they want the *Qualification* and *Fitnes* for such *places*: M^r *Cotton* answers two Things.

First, that such *Qualifications* are not *Essentiall*, but *Integrall*.

Secondly, That such *Princes* must forbear all *Civill Censures* in matters of Religion untill they be better informed.

Truth. It is most true as M^r Cotton sayth, if we speake of the right of *Succeſſion*, a *childe* may be a *Lawfull King* (as K. *James* himſelfe was being but a yeare old)¹ But if we ſpeake of the *Qualifications* of the *minde*, by which a *King* is enabled to rule his *State* (as is ſuppoſed *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Civill*, and to judge under *Chriſt Jeſus* in all *Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall* as well as *Civill*: Surely, he that knowes not which is the true *Church*, true *Miniftrie*, true *Ordinances*; yea and *perſecutes* the true *Church*, *Miniftrie*, and *Worſhip*, what ever his *Qualifications* be for the Gov-
ernment of the *Civill State*, yet can it never be made
good that he is furniſhed with any *Effentiall Quali-*
cation for the *Spirituell Adminiſtration*, any more then
He that undertakes to be a *Guide*, and yet is *blinde*,
and never ſet foote in the *way*, and knowes not the
true from the *false*: Or to be a *Captaine Generall*,
yea or but a *Shepheard*, &c. 2. Beſide, *Chriſt Jeſus*
never calld any perſon to any *Employment* of his, to
any *Worke*, whom he inables not in a *Meaſure* pro-
portionably, &c.

*Touching
the Quali-
fication of
Princes.*

Peace. In ſuch caſes (ſayth M^r Cotton) *Princes* are called to *ſuſpend* and *forbear* all *Execution* of *Civill Censures* in the matters of Religion, till they be better informed, leaſt they doe *perſecute* the *Son of God* in ſtead of the *Son of Perdition*.

¹ James was born June 19, 1566. His mother having been taken captive June 16, 1567, was forced to reſign her crown in favor of her ſon, July 24; and he was

crowned at Sterling, July 29, as James VI., of Scotland, being but little more than a year old. Hume, *Hiſtory*, v. 127. Froude, *Hiſtory of England*, ix. 142.

Truth. I answer: First, Then Mr Cotton hath cut off K: *James* from acting, though so long esteemed and sworne Supreame in all Causes Ecclesiasticall.

*Touching
Magis-
trates sus-
pending
from acting
in matters
of Relig-
ion.*

Secondly, I aske, how *many* shall forbear, and how long, for evident then it is that most (beyond all comparifon) of all the *Princes* and *Magistrates* in the *World*, must not meddle with this *pretended chiefe part* of their *Dutie* and *Office*, and that (if they convert not) for the whole *Course* and *Race* of their *Life*: In particular, that no *Pagan Magistrate* (of all the ten thousands [202] in the *World*, no *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Popish*, nor *Protestant* (if *Prelaticall* or *Presbyterian*.) ought to exercise any of this *High* and *Glorious Power*, but onely such *Princes* and *Magistrates* as are of Mr Cottons *Conscience*; for otherwise what Prince in the world more learned King in his time then King *James*, yet was not he of Mr Cottons *Conscience*.

*Monstrous
partialitie.*

Peace. Deare *Truth*: The *fall* of this *partialitie* is so *apparent*, and withall so *fowle*, that I thinke it impossible, but ere long it must needs be *condemned* by *Men* on Earth, as doubtles it is abhord by the most *holy* and *impartiall* God, and his holy *Angells* in *Heaven*: Upon this occasion I call to minde that famous *Act* of the so greatly renowned *Constantine*, who in his first wearing of the *Diademe*, put forth (his *Colleauge Licinius* concurring also) a famous and most solemne *Charter* and *Edict*, that no man throughout the whole *Empire* should be constrained in his *Religion*.

*Constan-
tines
Edict.*

Truth. Mr Cotton (according to his *proviso* of *suspension*) must doubtles applaud *Constantine* for this his *Forbearance* untill he were better informed, whereas

afterward his *Edicts* against *Arrius* and *Arrianisme*, testifie his practice to the contrary. But he that shall reade seriously in *Gods presence* that first *Edict* of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, will there finde *Constantine* to use such *Arguments*, as might for ever have caused him to have forbore *persecution*, to have still suspended, to have gratified the *Subjects* of all his *Empire* with *Liberitie* and *Freedom* in the Point of *Worship* and *Religion*.¹

But I will End this Passage with this *Querie*; If *Christ Jesus* have left such Power with the *Civill* Foule im- *Rulers* of the *World*, *Kingdomes*, and *Countries*, of or putations *for the Establishing, Governing, and Reforming his* cast on *Church*, what is become of his *Care* and *Love*, *Wis-* Christ *Jesus*. *dome* and *Faithfulnessse*, since in all *Ages* (since he left the *Earth*) for the generall, beyond all exception, he hath left her destitute of such *qualified Princes* and *Governours*, and in the Course of his *Providence* furnished her with such, whom he knew would be, and all men finde as fit, as *Wolves* to protect and feede his *Sheepe* and *People*.

¹ Reference is made in note p. 6. *supra*, to the edict of toleration issued by Constantine and Licinius in 312. This recognized "universal and unconditional freedom and liberty of conscience." But a dozen years later, after the council of Nice, he issued an edict "in which he places Arius in the same

class with Porphyry, the antagonist of Christianity, orders their writings to be burned, no penalty of death even being threatened against those who should be detected in any clandestine attempt to preserve these writings." Neander, *Church Hist.*, ii. 13. 378.

203] *Exam: of Chap. 64. replying to Chap. 67.*

Peace. **W**Hen it was questioned, what good to the *Soules* or *Bodies* of their *Subjects* did those *Princes* bring in persecuting! M^r Cotton produceth a good fivefold that is brought to *Princes* and *Subjects* by the due *punishment* of *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolaters*, and *Blasphemers*.

Truth. Let all that feare God and M^r Cotton himselfe be perswaded to observe, whether under this *faire cloake* of punishing these and these *spirituall sinners*, he maintaine not strongly (what elswhere he denies) to wit, *Persecution* for *cause* of *Conscience*. But we know the *Evasion*. It is not for *Apostatizing*, *seducing* out of *Conscience*, but after *Conviction*, against their *Conscience*, &c.

Unchristian Tribunals.

Peace. You have before satisfied me (besides other *Passages*) with this one, that to this End of discerning the poore *Hereticks* sinning against his *Conscience*, the *Civill State*, the *Earth*, the *World* must necessarily Erect its *Tribunall*, to judge not onely *Civill Things*, but even the *Heart* and *Conscience* also; but now to M^r Cottons five-fold good.

First (sayth he) it puts away *Evill* from the *People*, by cutting off a *Gangrene* which would spread to further *ungodlinesse*, *Deut.* 13. 5. 2 *Tim.* 2. 1. 6. 7. 13.

Dent. 13.

5. & 2

Tim. 2.

16. *Un-*

christianly

conjoynd.

Truth. I answer, these Scriptures (though pure and holy in their places, yet) are here coupled together as *Linsey*, *Wollsey*, contrary to the Law. *Deut.* 13. which concerns the typicall *Nationall Church*, using *Nationall* & *temporall Weapons*: The

2 *Tim.* 2. concernes the *Particular Congregations* or *Churches* of *Christians*, using onely the *Sword* of Gods *Spirit*, the *Word* of *God*, &c.

Beside, *Deut.* 13. concerned such a *People* whom the *Lord* brought forth of *Ægypt* with *Miracles*, into *Canaan*, &c. Let any such *People* be now produced, excepting the *Christian* (particular) *Churches*. Why doth *M^r Cotton* then alledge this Scripture so frequently, and in these five *Reasons* brings two from hence; This the *first*; and the *Third*, to wit, that all the *People* may *beare* and *feare*, &c. which is alone made good in the *Antitype* or *Christian Church*; according to that 1 *Tim.* 5. 20. *Rebuke* them that sinne openly, that others may learne to *feare*.

204] 2. *Peace*. *M^r Cotton* mentioneth a second good, which is driving away *Wolves* from *worrying* and *scattering* the *Sheepe* of *Christ*.

Truth. This was largely answered in discoursing the nature of *mysticall* or *spirituall Wolves*, upon that very place which he quotes, *Acts* 20.¹ From whence it may evidently appeare that from the *literall* urging of such *mysticall Scriptures*, all *Peoples* and *Nations* are enforced (and that *Conscientiously*) like *Wolves* and *Lyons* to teare and devoure each other.

3. *Peace*. *M^r Cotton* addes, that *Punishments* are *wholefome Medicines* to such as are curable of such *Evills*, *Zach.* 13. 4, 5, 6.

Truth. I answer; All the holy *Appointments* of *God* are most *powerfull* (in their severall respective *seasons*, and *manner* of *Dispensations*, to his owne most holy *Ends* and *purposes*, &c. The *Materiall*

¹ *Bloody Tenent*, 67, *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 141.

Nationall Sword in the *Nationall Church* of *Israel* before *Christ*: and the *Spirituell Sword*, in the *spirituall* and *Christian Church* since his comming to abolish those *shadowes*.

*Touching
Excom-
munication
in Israel.*

As it was therefore in vaine to have cut off or *Excommunicated spirituall* in that *Nationall State*: So is it in vaine to use the *materiall* or *carnall Sword* in the *spirituall*. Wherefore (according to this place of *Zach.*) a true penitent will blesse *God* for the *Wounds* of *Friends* and *Lovers* (faithfull and sharpe dealing) and for *Deliverance* from the *Kisse* of deceitful flatterie: But what is this to prove (that which is so much denied) to wit, *Corporall Death* or *Wounds* now to be inflicted upon *false Teachers* in these times of the *Gospel*, and that in all *parts* and *Nations* of the *World*.

4. *Peace*. The *punishment*, sayth *Mr Cotton*, executed upon *false Prophets* and *seducing Teachers*, doe bring downe *Showres* of *Gods* blessing upon the *Civill State*, 1 *King.* 18. 40, 41.

Anf: *Truth*. If that *Nationall State* of *Israel*, and that *Nationall* or *Corporeall* killing of so many hundreth *false Prophets*, and that *literall drouth* and *literall showres* of *Raine* and *plentie* were *figures* of no other *Prophets* and *slaughters*, *drouth* and *showres*, but *literall*, *materiall*, and *corporeall*, (now since the *Body* and *Substance Christ Jesus* is come): What should hinder but that those *Priests* of *Israel*, and *Sacrifices*, and *Temple*, and *Nationall Church* should all be in force, for our *Imitation*, *literally*, the one as well as the other?

205] *Peace*. I cannot possibly conceive but that (all

being of the same *Nature*,) the one is *Typicall* as well as the other, and that they must flourish and be glorious (as *Gods Ordinances*,) or *vanish* and *disappeare* (giving place to brighter *dispensations*) at the arising of *Christ Jesus* the Son of *Righteousnesse*.

Truth. Hence *false Apostles*, *false Teachers*, *false* ^{Spirituell} *Prophets*, are *Spiritually cut off*, Revel. 2. [2.] 2 Pet. ^{Blessings} ^{and Curses} 2. [1.] Gal. 4. [1. 9.] And *spirituall showres* of *Blessings* ^{the Anti-} ^{types of} descend upon the *Israel* of *God*; for although *corporeall Blessings* of *Food* and *Raiment* and *plentie*, ^{Corporall} ^{before} are *Gods blessings*, yet *principally* under the *Gospel* ^{Christ}. *God* *blesseth* his *Israel*, the *Antitype* with *spirituall Blessings*, Eph. 1. [3.] *Houses*, *Lands*, *Fathers*, *Mothers*, *Children*, &c. with *persecution*, Mark. 10. [29. 30.]

Peace. Me thinks (*Deare Truth*) If *Christ Jesus* ^{Great} ^{oversight} had appointed such *punishments*, such *executions*, ^{imputed to} ^{Christ} ^{Jesus.} *literall*, in the *Christian Church*, he would also have appointed *Offices* and *Officers* suitable and proper for such *Ends* and *purposes*, such *punishments*, such *executions*.

Truth. It cannot otherwise with *Reason* and *common* *prudence* be supposed, but that, if *Christ Jesus* ^{punish-} ^{ments for} had appointed (which we finde not in his holy *Testament*) ^{spirituall} *holy* and *Christian Magistrates* for those *great* ^{offences:} ^{they must} ^{be inflicted} *decrees* and *sentences*, wee should also have read of his *holy Constables*, *holy Sergeants*, *holy Prisons*, *holy Stocks*, *holy Whipping Posts*, *holy Gibbets*, and *holy Tyburnes*; together also with *holy Hangmen*, the *spirituall Instruments* and *Officers* of *Christ Jesus*, for the *Executions* of his *holy punishments* upon *Apostates*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, &c. ^{and Offi-} ^{cers.}

5. *Peace.* *Gods Justice* (sayth *Mr Cotton*) is hon-

oured in the *Execution* of such *Judgements*, Revel. 16. 5, 6.

1. *Truth*. I have (to my understanding) formerly shewed M^r *Cottons* mistake in his expounding of this third *Violl*, and have presented an *Exposition* more agreeable with the *scope* of this *Prophecie*.

Peace. 2. God was honoured in all his *Judgements* which the *Tyrants* of the World have executed, (the *Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, Romane*) yet not by way of *Law* and *Ordinance*, but in the way of his holy *providence* and just *permission*.

3. *Truth*. Yea the *Witneses* of *Jesus*, by the *two-edged Sword* of God in their Mouths, execute Gods *Judgments*, to the vindicating [206] of Gods *Glory*, and their *Innocencie*, (Revel. 11.) although they used no *carnall Weapons*.

4. The holy Name of God is much *dishonoured* and *prophaned*, when the *Inventions* of Men are set up, against his holy *Appointments*, and when the *Sword* of *Steele* (in *spirituall cases*) is drawn in stead of the *spirituall Sword*, proceeding out of the Mouth of *Christ Jesus* in his *servants Testimonie*. All such worship, is but vaine or idle worship (*Mark* 7. [7.]) and such is the *carnall Sword* and *Executions* of it.

A true
Christ, a
true
Sword;
a false
Christ, a
false
Sword.

Peace. Whereas it was observed, that M^r *Cotton* acknowledged that *Queene Elizabeth* had well neere fired all *Europe*, by such *Executions*, M^r *Cotton* answers, God bore witness to his *Truth* in *Deliverance*: And when it was replied, that *Successes* doth not prove *causes* true, M^r *Cotton* answers, yes; *Psal.* 1. 3, 4. *Jer.* 22. 15, 16, 17.

Truth. I reply, *Temporall prosperitie, successes, &c.*

were proper in that *Temporall* and *Civill State*, of that *Nationall Church*, and *spirituall Blessing* and *prosperitie* proper in the Gospel now, *Ephes.* 1. [3.]

Peace. 2. It was answered that *God* had given *viçtorie* to the *Papists*, especially against the *Waldenses* (and the *Beast* makes warre against the *Witnesses*, *Revel.* 11. [3.] and *overcomes* them, &c.) M^r *Cotton* herein first observeth a *Contradiction*, in the words, to wit, that the *Papists* ever had the *viçtorie*, and yet their *successes* hath been *various*.

Truth. I reply; the words are not that the *Papists* had *ever* the *Victory*, but that they ever had both *Victory* and *Dominion*; which words may be true, although that the *Event* were sometimes *various*.

2. *Peace.* Againe (sayth M^r *Cotton*) Queene *Elizabeth* ever had the *Victorie* against the *Papists*.

Truth. I answer; Many gracious *Deliverances* *God* ^{Q:} *Elizabeth* vouchsafed to *Q:* *Elizabeth*, yet sometimes her *Armies* ^{beth her} prospered not against the *Papists*, as in that famous ^{Wars} *Expedition* of *Effex*, *Drake* and *Norris* (though in a *Papists* ^{against the} most righteous cause,) against the *Papists* of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, as also against the *Papists* in *Ireland* and the *Low Countries*, at sometimes.¹

2. Grant not onely *Deliverances*, but *Victories* and

¹ In 1589 an expedition started from England under the command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, to help Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal. They first made an assault upon Groine in order to break up a Spanish armament which was preparing there. Here they were joined by the Earl of Effex, then only twenty-two years old, and proceeded to the coast of

Portugal. The expedition was unsuccessful and returned to England, half of the adventurers having perished.

In 1599, Effex was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and proceeded thither to reduce the rebels. But his expensive expedition came to a miserable issue and he returned to England. Hume, *Hist. of Eng.*, v: 362. 420.

Successe, Her *cause* (how ever intermingled) was civil Defence of her [207] *Kingdome*, against *Invasion* and *Ambition*, *Dominion* and *Conquest*, by *practices* of *Tyrannie* and *oppression*, both against the *English* and the *Hollanders* (especially) as appeared by the horrible *Exactions*, *Outrages*, *Murthers* and *Slaughters* committed upon them by *D'Alva* the King of *Spaines* *Generall*.

Peace. But although the *Papists* (sayth M^r *Cotton*) fought with *various* *successe*, yet it is *Gods* manner to nurture his *People* with some *crosses*, to teach them not to fight in their owne *strength*, &c.

Truth. Yea and it might also teach them not to fight but with *Christs* *Weapons* in *Christs* *Cause*; who hath said, That all that take the *Sword*, that is, (as I conceive) in *Christs* *cause*, shall perish by it, *Matth.* 26. 52.

*The
Warres of
the Wal-
denfes.*

3. *Peace*. Concerning the *Walldenfes* M^r *Cotton* sayth, They never lost *Victorie*, but when they complied with the *Papists*, and trusted more to their *false pretences*, then to the *Lord*. And he adds, that it is not true, that the *finall successe* of *Victorie* fell to the *Papists*, to the *utter extirpation* of those *Walldenfes*; for sayth he, those *Witnesses* were not *extirpated* but *dispersed*.

Truth. For their *Complying* with *Papists*, alas, what can *Gods* little flock, his two *Witnesses* doe with *carnall weapons*, unlesse assisted by *carnall Men*, to whom this *carnall course* causeth them to *bow downe*, *dissemble*, *lye*, &c. as holy *David* with *Achish* and his *Philistims*.

2. For the *Successe* it is evident that the *Waldenfes*

and their *Adherents*, were so defeated by the *Popes Armies*, that in respect of any *power* to resist, the *Armies* of the *Waldenses* were wholly *extirpated*, although it is true (through *Gods* o're-powring hand) the *Truths* of *Christ* (which the holy *Waldensian Witnesses* testified) were more and more propagated by their *Dispersions*, *Christ Jesus* gaines *Acts* 8. & more by *preaching* his *Truth* in a flying persecuted^{11.} *dispersion*, then by *fighting* on *Horsbacke* with carnall weapons in carnall companies, &c.

4. *Peace*. But, whereas it was observed from *Daniell* and *John* their *Prophecies*, that *Antichrist* was foretold to obtaine great successe against *Christ Jesus*, for a time determined: M^r *Cotton* sayth, Not against *Christ Jesus*, but his *Servants*, and that either in *Suffring* for his *Truth*, or when they ill handled his *Cause*.

208] *Truth*. Be it so, yet the *Prophecies* were true, and truly were fulfilled, and it is *Gods Counsell* that for the time appointed, *Christ Jesus* in his *Truths* and *Servants* is *despised*, *Psal.* 89. &c. How can then *temporall victorie* and *prosperitie* be expected by *Christs followers* for *Christs Cause*, or the *temporall Sword* be an *Ordinance* for *Christs spirituall Kingdome* and *Worship*?

5. *Peace*. Now lastly, when the *weapons* of the *Christian Saints Victories* were mentioned three; (*Revel.* 12.) *weapons*.

1. *Christs Bloud*. 2. *The Word* of their *Testimonie*.

3. *Their owne Bloud*: M^r *Cotton* answers; this is true in *private Christians*: But (sayth he) the *Sword* of *Gideon*, the *publike Magistrate* is the *Lords Sword*, &c. when drawn out for *Gods cause* and *Worship*,

according to God, is *Victorious*, Revel. 17. with Revel. 19. 14. 19, 20.

*Christs
Sword.*

Truth. I answer; *Gideons Sword* (if well examined) will be found a *Figure* of that *sharpe Sword* of that great *Captaine* and *Generall Christ Jesus*. This *Sword* comes forth of his *Mouth* in the *Preachings* and *Writings* of his *Servants*: other sword we never finde he used in all his *Battells* against all his *Adversaries*: yea even against the *Devill* himselfe and his *Instruments*.

*Christs
Warres
and Victo-
ries, Rev-
el. 17.*

Peace. Yea, those very *Victories* of the Saints, Revel. 19. are expressely won with that *Sword* which comes forth of his *Mouth*: And his owne *white Horse*, and the *Horses* of his *Followers*, and the *white Linnen* with which they are clothed, cannot with any shew of *Christian Reason* hould forth the *carnall preparation* of *white Horses*, (literally) *Guns, Swords, &c.* But of the *Word* of *Meeknesse*, *Innocencie* and *Righteousnesse* (which is interpreted the *Fine Linnen*, vers. 8.

*Gideons
Army typi-
call.*

Truth. To shut up this Chapter, *Gideons Armie* and *Artillerie* and *Victorie*, cannot be *type* of such *Materiall Armies, Artillerie, and Victories*, but of a *Spirituall Armie*, fighting with the *Light* and *Testimonie* of Gods *Truth* openly *proclaimed*, and the chearefull breaking of the *earthen Vessells* of their *Bodies* for *Christs Cause*, when in *conclusion*, the *Antichristian Midianites* (by their *Divisions* and *Combustions*) run their *Swords* in each others *Bowells*, with *mutuall slaughters* and *Destructions*; as woefull experiences hath declared.

209] Exam: of Chap. 65. replying to Chap. 68.

Peace. **F**ROM the *Argument* of the *Testimonie* of *Kings* and *Princes* concerning *persecution* for *matters* of *Religion* in their *Kingdomes* and *Dominions*, the *Prisoner* descended to the *Argument* from *ancient Writers*: unto some of which sayth the *Discusser*, the *Answerer* pleaseth to make *Answer*: Unto this *M^r Cotton* replies; As if any of them were *omitted*, or as if all of them were not *answered*: Compare the *Prisoners Letter* and mine together, and see if I have balked any one of them.

Truth. *M^r Cotton* would here insinuate a *false Charge*: I have compared the *Prisoners Letter*, and the *Answer*, and although *M^r Cotton* hath said *something* to *some-thing*, which every one of them spake: Yet he that impartially will view the *Passages* shall finde, that although in strictnesse of *Grammar Rules*, he may not be said to omit to say some thing to each of them, yet in respect of *Matter* and *Argument*, he hath toucht but some, and that but lightly, as the *Candle* of *Examination* will make it appeare.

Peace. *Hilarius* words in the *Letter* are these:
 "The *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *The Christian Church*
 "*persecuted*: and lamentable it is to see the great *Church*
 "*folly* of these *Times*, and to sigh at the foolish *Church*
 "*opinion* of this *World*, in that Men thinke by *doth not*
 "*humane* ayde to helpe *God*, and with *worldly pompe* *persecute*,
 "*and power* to undertake to defend the *Christian* *but is per-*
 "*Church*: I aske you *Bishops*, what *helpe* used the *secuted.*
 "*Apostles* in the *publishing* of the *Gospel*? With the

“ayde of what *power* did they *Preach Christ*, and
 “*convert* the *Heathen* from their *Idolatrie* to *God*?
 “When they were in *prisons*, and lay in *chaines*, did
 “they praise or give thanks to *God* for any *Digni-*
 “*ties* or *Graces* and *Favours* received from the *Court*?
 “Or doe you thinke that *Paul* went about with *Re-*
 “*gall Mandates* or *Kingly Authoritie*, to gather and
 “and *establiſh* the *Church of Christ*? Sought he *pro-*
 “*tection* from *Nero*, *Vespasian*, &c? The *Apostles*
 “wrought with their own hands for their *Mainten-*
 “*ance*, travelled by Land, and wandred from *Towne*
 “to *Citie* to preach *Christ*: Yea the more they were
 “forbidden, the more they taught and preached
 “*Christ*: But now alas *Humane helpe* must *assit* and
 “and *protect* the *Faith*, and give *countenance* to it,
 210] “and by vaine and *worldly Honours* doe men
 “seeke to defend the *Church of Christ*, as if he by
 “his *power* were unable to performe it.

Truth. How many goulden heavenly *Sentences*
 (like so many precious *Jewells*) are treasured up, in
 the *Cabinet* of this holy *Testimonie* of *Hilarius*?
 And yet, but some of them, nay onely one of them
 doth *Mr Cotton* choose to answer, to wit, this, The
Christian Church doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, Each *inch* and *sbread* of
 heavenly *Gold* is *precious*, forget not therefore the
Addition in the *Letter*, *Hilarie* against the *Arrians*

Worldly
glory and
persecution
characters
of the false
Church.

“thus: The *Church* which formerly by enduring
 “*miserie* and *Imprisonment*, was knowne to be the
 “true *Church*, doth now *terrifie* others by *Imprison-*
 “*ment*, *Banishment*, and *Miserie*, and boasteth that
 “thee is *highly esteemed* of the *World*, whereas the

“*true Church* cannot but be *hated* of the same. In which and other *Passages* of *Hilarius* M^r *Cotton* might see as in a *Glasse*, the *foule spots* of his *owne* and *New Englands face*, in a most lively *Testimonie* against both *bloudie Tenents* and *practices*.

Peace. To close upon the *Point*: M^r *Cotton* sayth, He cannot make it a *marke* of a *Christian Church* to be *persecuted*, for (*Acts* 9 31.) the *Churches* had rest, &c. Nor a *marke* of a *false Church* to *persecute*; for, *Aja* persecuted the *Prophet* (*2 Chron.* 16. 10.) *Acts* 7. 51. the *true Church* persecuted the *Prophets*.

Truth. When the *Scripture* or *common Reason* speakes of a *common marke* or *Character*, proper to one they deny not; but in an *Act*, or unusuall cases that *Marke* or *Character* may be worne by the *Con-* The sins of Gods children.
traries. *Noah* was drunk; *Abraham* lyes; *David* commits *Adulterie*: yet lying, *drunkenness* and *whoredome* were not their *ordinarie Characters*, but the *Markes* of the *common Lyars*, *Drunkards* and *Adulterers* of this *World*: *David* stobd *Uriah* with his *Pen*, and *Aja* imprisoned the *Prophet*; yet these *Acts* were not their *ordinarie Badges*, but rather *Spots* or *Blemishes*, *Warts*, or *Scabs*, which grew on and were cast off (like *Pauls Viper*) without the note of a *constant marke* or *character*.

It is the *propertie* of *Fire* to ascend, and *Water* to descend, yet the *Scripture* relates of the *descending* of *Fire*, and the *ascending* of *Water*, which takes not away the *ordinarie Nature* of the [211] *marke* and *character* of *Fires ascending*, and *Waters descending* the *Hills* and *Mountaines*.

An arrant *Whore* is not alwayes in actuall *Whore-*

dome and *Bloud*, though both are her *Markes* and *Dispositions*: A *chast* wife or *Virgin* abhorres both, and yet by force or great *Temptation*, may be *vanquished* (as *Bathsheba*) which afterwards the *Teares* of godly *Sorrow* and *Repentance* wash away.

Peace. Yea but, the *Question* is (sayth M^r Cotton) whether *Magistrates* may not punish arrogant *Hereticks* and *Seducers*?

Christs

Witnesses.

Truth. In all ages *God* hath permitted, *Goulden Images* (like *Nebuchadnezzars*) to be set up, I say *State Worships* and *Religions*! And he hath also provided his *Witnesses* to testifie his *Truth* against such *Abominations*: Such *Witnesses* dissenting, *Non-conforming*, and refusing to come to the *Common Assemblies* of such *Worshippers* (to come to *Church* in plaine *English*) to yeeld *Conformitie*, to *Subscribe*, to *Sweare*, &c. are commonly cryed downe for *Hereticks*, *Schismatics*, &c. And if they open their Lips in defence of their owne *Conscience*, and profession of *Gods Truth*! *Seducers*, *Seducers*, *Blasphemers*, *Blasphemers*.

2. *Peace*. But 2. sayth M^r Cotton) it is another begging of the *Question*, to take it for granted, that it is a *marke* of no true *Church* to procure the *Civill punishment* of incorrigible, obstinate *Hereticks* and *Seducers*.

*A true
Wife of
Christ no
persecut-
our.*

Truth. I intend by a *marke* or *character*, an inbred constant *disposition*, put forth in a *constant* and *ordinarie practice*: And then I dare challenge M^r Cotton to produce any true *Church* of *Christ*, eyther in *Scripture* or *Historie*, that did *ordinarily* and *constantly* *professe* and *practice* to stirre up the *Civill Magistrate* against such whom they judged incorrigible *obstinate Hereticks* and *Seducers*.

Peace. That which follows is full of *Wonder* and *Astonishment*, for M^r Cotton confessing the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, that is (sayth he) *persecute* in *Excommunicating the Heretick*) it was replyed; this is but an *Evasion*, for who denies Power to *Christs Church* to *Excommunicate*? or who understands by *Excommunication*, *persecution* for *Conscience*? M^r Cotton answers; the *Prisoner* did not expresse himselfe, what *persecution* he meant, and also since *false Excommunication* is a great *persecution*, and so *Christ Jesus* himselfe esteemes of it, *Luk. 21. 22.* Touching
persecution
what it is.

212] *Truth.* I have formerly and must againe appeale to the *nature* of the *word*, commonly used and taken, and aske, if *persecution* properly so taken be not a *corporeall violence*, or *hunting for Religion and Conscience* sake! And then halfe an eye will see through this poore and thin *excuse* and *covering*, notwithstanding that *false excommunication* be a *spirituall persecution*, and the abuse of the *spirituall Sword* be also deeper and fouler then the *abuse* of the *civill* and *materiall*.

Peace. To this (upon the Point) M^r Cotton consented, to wit, that *Hilarius* complaint, speaketh not to *Excommunication*, but *civill censures*, and therefore answers, first by *proportion* that *excommunication* of an *Heretick* is no *persecution*, and therefore by *proportion* neither is the *civill punishment* of an *Heretick*, *persecution*. By *concession* of *Hilaries* words, that the *Apostles* did not, and we may not propagate *Religion* by the *Sword*.

Truth. The Question with *Hilarie* was not whether a true *Church* did *persecute* an *Heretick*, *Idolater*, *Blas-*

*Difference
between a
civill and
spirituall
State.*

phemer, &c. but whether a true *Church* persecuted at all by *civill censures*: Now there being *two States*, the *Civill* or *Corporeall* and the *Ecclesiasticall* or *spirituall*: There are consequently two sorts of *Lawes*, two sorts of *Transgressions*, two sorts of *punishments*, to wit, *Civill* and *Spirituall*, and there must of necessity be two sorts of *false* or *corrupt punishments*, which are not *just punishments*, but *oppressions*, *persecutions* or *hunting*s, to wit, the *Civill persecution* and the *spirituall*: Now M^r *Cotton* (confounding *Heaven* and *Earth* together) deceives himselfe and others by a notion of *spirituall persecution*, to wit, by *Excommunication*, contrary to *Hilaries scope*, and the *scope* of this whole *Dispute* and *Controversie*.

*The nature
of spiritu-
all punish-
ments.*

I may illustrate it thus: Some *Tutours* of *Kings Children*, not being authorized to correct the *Bodies* of such *young Princes*, are said sometimes (not without some desert) to correct the *Bodies* of *Inferiours* (the *young Princes Favourites*;) by which the minds of such *young Princes* smarted *sufficiently*, if not *exceedingly*. I parallell not the *similitude* in all respects, but to illustrate the *difference* and *distinction*, between a *spirituall punishment* of the *minde*, and *spirit*, *soule* and *affections*, with which *Christ Jesus* hath furnished his *Churches*: and that *Civill* or *corporall punishment*, which he never gave them power to inflict (unlesse in *miraculous dispensation*) over the *Bodies* of any, *directly* or *indirectly* by *Themselves* or *others*.

213] *Peace*. It is an everlasting Truth; *Rightly distinguish, rightly Teach*: but let us view M^r *Cottons* Second Answer, He grants that the *Christian Religion* was not, nor is not to be *propagated* by the *Sword*.

Truth. Then let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge, if M^r *Cotton* may not (in this case) out of his owne mouth be judged, since in this whole *Discourse* he sets the visible *Headship* of *Christ Jesus* (that golden *Head*, Cant. 5. [11.]) over the *Church* and all her *Officers*, *The nature* *Doctrines* and *Practices*, (in the power of *Correcting*, *of Christs* *Reforming*, &c.) on the *shoulders* of the *Civill State*, *Spirituals*, *Government*, the *Ministers* and *Officers* thereof: provided that they execute not this *Headship* or *Government*, except they be able to judge, that is, (in *English*) provided they be of his *Conscience* and *Judgement*, and so consequently will *judge* and *execute*, according to the *Clergies* (though implicate) *decree* and *sentence*.

Peace. It is not much unlike that M^r *Cotton* *The Civill* affirmeth in the words following: for although he *Powers* *and Off-* *cers the* *Clergies* *Execution-* *ers.* confesseth it is not proper for *Christian Churches* to inflict *Civill punishments* by *Themselves*, yet makes he (as all *Popes* and *Popish persecutours* have done) the *Magistrates* and *Civill powers*, their *servants* and *slaves* for execution, &c.

Truth. This M^r *Cotton* covers over with this *Similitude*, saying that although it is not proper for *Lambes* to teare *Wolves*, yet if they were reasonable they would run to their *Shepheards* to send out their *Dogs* after them.

Now under this fine *Paint* and *vizard* of *Lambe-like dispositions* of *Shepheards*, the *Bishops*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, may render the *Civill Magistrates* not as *Shepheards*, but no other, upon the point and in *plaine English*, then their *servants* and *Executioners*, to punish such on whom the *Clergie* first have past their *Sentence*. The bloudie *Papists* have com-

monly used to persecute *Christ Jesus formally* and *judicially*, delivering over *Christ Jesus* (in his *Servants*,) orderly to *Pontius Pilate*, the *Secular Power*. The *Protestant persecutors* use a *finer vaile* (every ugly *vizard* will not so deceive) for though they practice not so *above boord*, in respect of a formall and judiciall delivering of *Christ* (the *Heretick*) unto their *Shepherd Pontius Pilate* the *Secular power*, yet they doe it, and doe it as substantially and fully by *preaching* and *chalking* out to their *servants* the *Magistrates*, [214] their task, I say, as fully as ever the bloudie *Popes*, the *Bishops*, or their *Chancellours* did.

Peace. But why (sayth *M^r Cotton*) should a *Christian Church* spare an *Idolater*, tempting of her now, any more then the eye of an holy *Israelite* was to spare the like *Tempters* in the dayes of old, *Deut.*

13. 3?

*Spirituell
Judge-
ments more
terrible
since
Christ,
then corpo-
rall before
his coming.*

Truth. *M^r Cotton* cannot get over this *block*, though it be but a *shadow*, yea the *shadow* of a *shadow*, abolished by *Christ Jesus*: *M^r Cotton* a little before grants that the *power* of *spirituall chaines* far exceeds the power of *materiall*, and if so how cleere is it, that the *spirituall impartialitie* and *severitie* of a *Virgin Israelite* now, is incomparablie *sharper* and more *dreadfull*, by putting *spiritually* to Death such as *Tempt* them from the *Lord* their *God*, who hath brought them forth of *Ægypt* into *spirituall Canaan*, then the *impartialitie* and *severitie* of any *literall Israelite*, against such as tempted them from the *Lord*, who in a *Type* had brought them forth of *materiall Ægypt* into *materiall Canaan*?

I adde (*sweete Peace*) to end this Chapter, If the *Father of Lights* graciously please to open a *crevis* of *Light* to that (otherwise) *excellent* and *piercing* eye of *M^r Cotton* in this *Controversie*, he will confesse concerning this cutting off in *Israel* these two things.

First, that the cutting off in *materiall Israel*, was by *Swords*, *Stones*, &c. a cutting off from the *holy Land*, and a casting out of *Gods fight*, which cutting off *God* executed either by legall *Judgement* and *Sentence* among *Themselves*, or by furious hand of *persecutours* and *oppressours*, *slaughtering* or *captivating* that *People*.

Secondly, That there is no other cutting off in the *Gospel*, but by the *spirituall Sword* of the *Word* & *Ordinances* of *Christ*, or the violent hand of *Oppressours*, *Antichristians*, &c. carrying *Gods Israel* captive into *mysticall Babylon*, or *Ægypt* of false *Worship*, or *worldly corruption*, which is ten thousand-fold more *terrible* and *dreadfull*, then the *literall* and *materiall Captivitie* of *Israel*.

The cutting off or Excommunicating from the holy Land of Israel figurative and typical.

215] *Exam: of Chap. 66. replying to Chap. 69.*

Peace. **H**ERE *M^r Cotton* complains of wrong, in that the *Discusser* chargeth him to plead for *persecution*, and yet confesseth that he agrees with *Hilarie*.

Truth. *M^r Cotton* indeed agrees with *Hilarie* in *generall profession*, that the *Gospel* is not to be propagated by *Sword*, but in particulars he affirms, the *Blasphemer*, the *Idolater*, the *Heretick*, the *Seducer*

is to be *persecuted*. In the generall he saith, the *Magistrate* may not *constraine* any to *believe* & *professe* the *Truth*, yet in particulars; thus far saith he, *A twofold way of constraint.* a man may be *constrained* by the *Magistrates* withdrawing *Countenance* and *Favour*, *Incouragement* and *Employment* from him, which affirming, what doth he else but affirme that he may be *constrained*, *deposed*, *punished*, that is, *persecuted*.

Peace. Indeed such kinde of *punishment*, as to displace men, to keepe them out from all *offices*, or *places* of *Trust* and *Credit* (because of *difference* of *Conscience*) may prove in the particular a *greater affliction* and *punishment*, then a *Censure*, a *Fine*, *Imprisonment*, yea sometimes more bitter to some *Spirits* then *Death* it selfe.

Truth. Yea and M^r *Cottons* ground is both *unsafe* and *darke*, and needs a *candle* of *Light* to discover the *bottome* and *compasse* of it: Such, saith he, as walke not according to their *Light*, are neither true *servants* to *God* nor *Man*, but

What it is to walke according to a mans Light. First, what meanes here M^r *Cotton* by *Light*? *Light* in this fence is commonly taken two wayes. First, For that is *Light* indeed, to wit, the precious *Light* of *Gods* revealed will.

Secondly, That which so appeares to be, to a mans minde and *Conscience*, but may be a *falsehood*, a *lye*, a *mistake*, and *darknesse*. M^r *Cotton* had done well to have distinguished, for (before) he blamed King *James* for walking according to his *Light*: and although (upon the point) he makes the *Civill Magistrates* in all parts of the *World*, the *Heads*, *Proteſtours*, and *Governours* of *Christs Church*; yet

if the *eyes* of these *Heads* see not by his *Light*, he cuts off these *Heads*, forbidding them to act as *Heads*, and to walke according to their *Light*, they must (as [216] often he tells us) suspend, untill they have *Light*, &c.

2. *Peace*. Beside, it comes oft to passe, that the *Light* which shines by *preaching* or *practice* of others, although it be a meane sufficient to *convince*, if God please to blesse it, yet untill the *Consciences* of men be *convinced* of the *Light* of it, I judge it cannot properly be said to be the *Light* of their *Consciences*, nor they to sin against the *Light* of their *Consciences*. Conviction
two-fold:
Sufficient
in it selfe:
or to the
partie effi-
cacious.

3. *Truth*. Yea, and there is a *morall vertue*, a *morall fidelitie*, *abilitie* and *honestie*, which other men (beside *Church-members*) are, by good *nature* and *education*, by good *Lawes* and good *examples* nourished and trained up in, that *Civill* places of *Trust* and *Credit* need not to be *Monopolized* into the hands of *Church-Members* (who sometimes are not fitted for them) and all others deprived and despoiled of their *naturall* & *Civill Rights* and *Liberties*.

Peace. But what say you (Deare *Truth*) to M^r *Cottons Apologie* for *New England* (for as for *constraint* in *old* he is silent) he sayth he knowes not of any *constraint* upon any to come to *Church*, to pay *Church Duties*, and sayth it is not so in his *Towne*.

Truth. If M^r *Cotton* be *forgetfull*, sure he can hardly be *ignorant* of the *Lawes* and *Penalties* extant in *New England* that are (or if *repealed* have been) against such as absent Themselves from *Church Morning* and *Evening*, and for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*, although no *Members*.

*Touching
the Main-
tenance of
the new
English
Ministers.*

For a *Freedome* of *Not paying* in his *Towne*, it is to their *commendation* and *Gods praise*, who hath shewed him and others more of his holy *Truth*: Yet who can be ignorant of the *Seffments* upon all in other Townes, of the many *Suits* and *Sentences* in *Courts* (for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*) even against such as are no *Church Members*? Of the *Motions* and *pleadings* of some (not the meanest of their *Ministers*) for *Tithes*? And how ever for my part I beleeve M^r *Cotton* ingeniously willing, that none be forced expressly to pay to his *Maintenance*, yet I question whether he would work if he were not well paid: And I could relate also what is commonly reported abroad, to wit, that the rich *Merchants* and *people* of *Boston* would never give so *freely*, if they were *forced*, yet now they are forced to give for shame (I take it) in the *Publike Congregation*.¹

¹ "Whereas complainte hath bene made to this Court that dyvers persons within this jurisdiction doe usually absent themselves from church meetings upon the Lords day, power is therefore given to any two Assistants to heare and sensure, either by ffyne or imprisonment (at their discrecion) all misdemeanors of that kinde committed by any inhabitant within this jurisdiction." March, 1634-5. *Mafs. Col. Records*, i. 140.

"And withall it is also ordered, that every such inhabitant who shall not voluntarily contribute, proportionably to his ability, with other freemen of the same towne, to all common charges, as well for upholding the ordinances in the churches as otherwise, shall be compelled thereto by assessment and distress to be

levied by the cunstable &c." Sept. 6, 1638. *Mafs. Col. Records*, i. 240.

Nov. 4, 1646, a similar order was passed by the General Court requiring attendance upon "ye ministry of the word upon ye Lords dayes and upon such publike fasts dayes and dayes of thanksgiving as are to be generally held by ye appointment of authority" and for every absence the offender was to forfeit five shillings. *Mafs. Col. Rec.*, ii. 178.

We have Winthrop's testimony that Cotton promoted "a freedome of not paying in his towne." He says under date of May 2, 1639, "Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8 of Kings, 8, taught, that when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of min-

217] The *Indians* of this *Countrie* have a Way calld *Nanôwwe*, or *Giving* their *Commodities* freely, by which they get better *bargaines*, then if they stood stiffly on their *Termes* of *Anaqûshento*, or *Trading*: And when not *satisfied* to the utmost, they grudge, revile, &c.' It cannot be, but that to such *Deceitfulness* of Heart M^r Cotton is subject as well as others, though *Love* bids me, and others, to hope the best.

Peace. The close of this Chapter seemes *strange* Of propagating Religion by the Sword. and *wonderfull*, for M^r Cotton acknowledged that *Propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the "*Sword*, and yet instantly againe maintaines he the "*use* of the *Sword* when persons (which then must "*be judged* by the *Civill State*) blasphem the true "*God* and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to "*damnable Heresie* and *Idolatrie*: But this (sayth he) "*is not* the *Propagation* of *Religion*, but the preserv- "*ing* of it, and if it doe conduce to *Propagation*, it is onely *Removendo prohibens*.

Truth. What is this *Removendo prohibens*, but as

isters, etc., then the churches are in a declining condition. Then he showed that the minister's maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands, or revenues, or tithes, etc.; for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention and sloth, etc." *New England*, i. 355.

But Winthrop makes another statement which does not agree altogether with Cotton's unqualified assertion, "least of all do I know that any are constrained to pay church-duties in New England." He says in 1642, "The churches held a different course in raising the ministers'

maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some." *New England*, ii. 112. Cf. Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 19.

"They are marvellous subtle in their Bargaines to save a penny. They will often confesse for their own ends, that the English are richer and wiser and valianter them themselves; yet it is for their owne ends, and therefore they add *Nanoûe*, give me this or that, a disease which they are generally infected with." Williams, *Key*, &c., 156. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i. 243.

the *weeding* of a *Field* or *Garden*? And every *Husbandman* will say, that the end of such his *work*, is the *propagation* and *increase* of his *graine* and *fruit*, as well as the making of his *fence*, and *planting* and *sowing* of his *Field* or *Garden*: What therefore is this *Confession*, (though with this *Distinction*) but in truth an acknowledgement of what in *Words* and *Tearmes*, he yet denies (with *Hilaire*) to wit, a propagating of *Christian Religion* and *Truth* by the *Civill Sword*?

2. Besides it is the same *band* and *power* that plucks up the *weedes*, and *plants* the *Corne*, and consequently, that same *band* and *Sword* that *destroys* the *Heretick*, may *make* the *Christian*, &c.

Exam: of Chap. 67. replying to Chap. 70.

*Touching
the Indi-
ans of
New-Eng-
land.*

Peace. CONCERNING *Tertullians* speech, and especially that Branch, to wit, that [By the Law of *naturall equitie*, Men are not to be compelled to any *Religion*, but permitted to *believe* or not *believe* at all] M^r *Cotton* answers, that they doe permit the *Indians*, but it will not therefore be safe to tollerate the *publicke Worship* of *Devills* or *Idolls*. The *Dis- cussor* replied, [218] that they doe permit the *Indians* in their *Paganish Worship*, and therefore were partiall to their *Countrymen* and *others*: M^r *Cotton* answers; that it is not true, that they doe so permit the *Indians*, what ever they may doe privately: That the *Indians* submit to the ten *Commandments*, and that some of their *Ministers* have preached to them in *English*, which hath been *interpreted*: That one now

preacheth in their owne *Language*: Further, That they permit *strangers* in their *Worship*. And for their *Countrymen*, for the most part that they worship *God* with them: They which are distant have *Libertie* of *publike prayer* and *preaching*, by such as themselves choose without *disturbance*.

Truth. Concerning the *Indians*, it is most true, that the *Monabigganêucks*, *Mishawomêucks*, *Pawtuck-sêucks*, and *Cawsumsêucks* (who profess to submit to the *English*) continue in their publike *Paganish Worship* of *Devills*, I say *openly* and *constantly*.¹

Peace. Yea but (saith M^r Cotton) they have submitted to the ten *Commandments*.

Truth. I answer; the ten *Commandments* containe a *Renunciation* of all false *Gods* and *Worships*, and a *Worshipping* of the true *God*, according to his owne *Institutions* and *Appointments*, which their practice is as farre from, as *Mid-night* is from *Mid-day*.

2. To put men upon *observations* of *Gods Worship*, as *Prayer*, &c. before the *Foundations* of *Repentance* from *dead workes* (their *worshipping* of *Idolls*, &c.) is as farre from the *Order* of *Christ Jesus*, and his *Christian principles* (whereof *Repentance* from *dead workes* is the first) as the building of an *House* or *Palace*, without the first *Groundsell* or *Foundation* laid.²

*Worship-
ping of
God and
Christ be-
fore the
foundation
of Repent-
ance, is
nothing but
Antichris-
tian dis-
order.*

¹ The *Monabigganêucks* are the *Narragansetts*, which elsewhere he calls the *Nanbigganêucks*. The *Mishawomêucks* are probably what he calls in the *Key* the *Maffachusêucks*, or *Massachusetts*. The *Pawtusuckêucks* are the *Pawtucketts*. The *Cawsumsêucks* are "probably the

Wampanoags or *Pokanokets*." *Key*, &c., 22. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i. 82. For *Williams's* derivation of the name *Narragansett*, see his deposition, June 18, 1682. *R. I. Col. Rec.*, i. 26.

² *Williams* says in his *Key*, that he "could easily have brought the countrey

Peace. M^r Cotton therefore saith, they *preach* unto them.

Truth. I from my soule wish that all the *Lords* people in *New England* were *Prophets*, yea true *Apostolicall Ministers* or *Preachers*, truely furnished with *Christs Abilities*, and *Christs Commission*, to goe forth to convert and baptize the *Nations*, even these *Wildest* of the *Nations* of *Adams Children*: But *Conversion* of *Nations* M^r Cotton sayth (upon *Revel.* 15.) untill the *seaven plagues* of the *seaven Angells* be fullfilled, will not be great.¹

to "keeping the Englishman's day of worship," but that I was perswaded, and am, that Gods way is first to turne a soule from its Idolls, both of heart, worship, and conversation, before it is capable of worship, to the true and living God. As also, that the two first Principles and Foundations of true Religion or Worship of the true God in Christ, are Repentance from dead workes, and Faith towards God, before the Doctrine of Baptisme or washing and the laying on of handes, which containe the Ordinances and Practises of worship." *Key, &c.*, 130. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i. 160, 161.

¹ *Bloody Tenent Washted*, 148. "Mr Cotton out of that in Revelations 15. none could enter into the temple until, etc., delivered, that neither Jews nor any more of the Gentiles should be called until Antichrist were destroyed, viz. to a church estate, though here and there a profelyte." *Winthrop*, ii. 36.

This is one of the reasons Lechford gives in 1641 why "there hath not been any sent forth by any Church to learne the native's language, or to instruct them in the Religion." "Some say out of

Rev. 15. last [verse], it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews; till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter into the Temple, that is, the Christian Church, and the seventh vial is not yet poured forth." *Plain Dealing*, 21.

"Three things have made us thinke it is not yet time for God to worke. 1. Because till the Jewes come in, there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people, as they thinke from some Apocalypticall places." *The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England.* (1647,) p. 15. 16. 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 15. This tract is ascribed to Eliot in this reprint of the *Mass. Hist. Society*. But there is internal evidence that it is not his. It is with more reason ascribed to Rev. John Wilson, of Boston. See Francis's *Life of Eliot*, 346.

Williams in the next paragraph acknowledges this interpretation "to be very probable." In this same year, 1652, he writes: "We may see a great mistake as touching that great point of *Conversion*: There is a great breathing

219] This *Interpretation* I acknowledge to be very *probable*, so far as concernes any great *Conversion* of the *Nations* before the downfall of *Antichrist*, and in the meane season I commend the pious *Endeavors* of any (professing *Ministry* or not) to doe good to the *Soules* of all Men as We have *opportunitie*. But that any of the *Ministers* spoken of are furnished with true *Apostolicall Commission* (Matth. 28. [19. 20.]) I see not for these Reasons.

First, The *Minister* or *Ministers*, whom M^r Cotton *Touching* I conceive intends, professes an ordinarie *Office* in the *Church of Christ*, which is cleerely distinct, yea and another thing from the office of an *Apostle*, or one sent forth to *preach* and *baptize*, Ephes. 4. [11.] & 1 Cor. 12. [28.] *preaching to the Indians in New-England.*

Secondly, Such *Churches* as are invested with the power of *Christ*, and so authoriz'd to send forth, are seperate from the *World*, which many thousands of *Gods* people (dead and living) have seene just Reasons to deny those *Churches* so to be.

Thirdly, Were the *Church* true, and the *Messenger* or *Apostle* rightly sent forth with *prayer* and *fasting*, according to *Act*. 13. [3.] yet I believe that none of the *Ministers* of *New England*, nor any person in the whole *Countrey* is able to open the *Mysteries* of *Christ Jesus* in any proprietic of their *speech* or

in the *souls* of *Gods* people after the *Conversion* of the *English*, *Irish*, *Jewes*, *Indians*, and blessed be God for those *Breathings*. Yet doubtlesse the first great *worke* is the bringing of the *Saints* out of *Babel*, or *confused worshipps*, and the downefall of the *Papacie*, after the *witnesses*

slaughtered. Hence it is probably conceived by some upon *Revel*. 15. that untill the *vyals* be powred forth upon *Antichrist*, the smoak so filleth the *Temple*, that no man, that is (Jew of the *Jewes* or *Gentiles*) shall by conversion enter in." *Hireling Ministry*, p. 12.

Language, without which *proprietie*¹ it cannot be imagined that *Christ Jesus* sent forth his first *Apostles* or *Messengers*, and without which no people in the World are long willing to heare of *difficult* and heavenly matters. That none is so fitted;

First, The *Natives* themselves affirme, as I could instance in many particulars.

Secondly, The *Experience* of the Discusser and of many others testifie how hard it is for any man to attaine a little *proprietie* of their *Language* in common things (so as to escape *Derision* amongst them) in many yeares, without abundance of *conversing* with them, in *Eating*, *travelling* and *lodging* with them, &c. which none of their *Ministers* (other affaires not permitting) ever could doe.²

¹ Property, possession.

² The "experience" of Williams in the study of the Indian language begun very early, even before his banishment. He says in 1677, speaking of his negotiations with Canonius and Miantinomi in 1634-5: "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smokey holes, (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue. I could debate with them (in a great measure) in their own language." Knowles, *Memoir*, 109. Of his experience in preaching to them, he says, in 1643, "of later times (out of desire to attaine their Language) I have run through varieties of *Intercourses* with them Day and Night, &c. Many solemn discourses I have had with all *sorts* of *Nations* of them, from one end of the Country to another (so farre as opportunity, and the little Language I have

could reach.)" Of their spiritual condition "from my selfe many hundreths of times, great numbers of them have heard with great delight, and great convictions." *Key, &c.* Introduction and p. 123. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i. 85. 215.

In his *Key* he speaks of a "little additional discourse" which he had written on "that great point of their conversion" "because this is the great inquiry of all men what Indians have been converted? What have the English done in those parts? What hopes of the Indians receiving the knowledge of Christ?" *Key*, Introduction and Table. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i. 87. 281. This Discourse has not been discovered. This is to be regretted, as it would bring from his "experience" some answer to "the great inquiry" which at that time had been awakened in England through the representations of Winslow, the reports

Peace. There being no helps of *Art* and *learning* amongst them, I see not how without constant *use* or a *Miracle*, any man is able to attaine to any *proprietie* of *speech* amongst them, even in common things. And without *proprietie* (as before) who knowes not how hardly all men (especially *Barbarians*) [220] are brought to heare *matters* of *Heaven* (so *strange* and contrary to *Nature*) yea, even *matters* of the *Earth*, except profit and other *worldly ends* compell them to spell out Mens *minds* and *meaning*?

Truth. 3. I may truely adde a third, an *Instance* in the booke of their *Conversion*, written by M^r Tho: *Shepherd*, there M^r *Eliot* (the ablest amongst them in the *Indian Speech*) promising an old *Indian* a suit of Cloths, the man (sayth the relation) not well understanding M^r *Eliot's* speech, asked another *Indian* what M^r *Eliot* said.¹

of Eliot's labors made by Wilfon, (*The Day-Breaking*), and Shepard, (*The Clear Sun-shine*), as well as by the organization of The Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. Quotations are made from it in Baylies' *Dissuasive* (1645). See Mr. Trumbull's note, *Pub. Narr. Club*, i. 220. In these he declares that he could have easily converted all the natives to an outward observance of Christianity. But this, as he says above, is "farre from the Order of Christ Jesus and his Christian principles (whereof Repentance from dead workes is the first)." This may subtract a little from the force of the imputation cast upon him by one of Shepard's stories. He says Eliot asked a Narragansett Sachem

"why they did not learn of Mr. Williams who had lived among them divers years? and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because hee is no good man but goes and workes upon the Sabbath day." *Clear Sun-shine*, p. 31.

¹ "Mr. Eliot told him that because he brought his wife and all his children constantly to the lecture, that he would therefore bestow some clothes upon him, (it being now winter and the old man naked:) which promise he not certainly understanding the meaning of, asked therefore of another Indian (who is Mr. Eliot's servant and very hopefull) what it was that Mr. Eliot promised him." Shepard, *Clear Sun-shine*, 12. 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 46.

Peace. Me thinks, the *Native* not understanding such a *common* and *wellcome* promise of cloths upon *Gift*, would farre more hardly understand M^r *Eliots* preaching of the garment of *Righteousnesse Christ Jesus*, unto which Men mutually turne the deafe Eare, &c.

Truth. Neither you (sweet *Peace*) nor I Expresse thus much to dampe M^r *Eliot* or any from doing all the good they can, whiles opportunitie lasts in any truely *Christian* way, but to shew how great that mistake is, that pretends such a true *preaching* of *Christ Jesus* to them in their owne *Language*.

Peace. But to proceed, in the next *Passage* M^r *Cotton* affirms their *Impartialitie* in permitting others as well as the *Indians*.

Truth. I answer; it is one thing to connive at a *strange Papist* in private *devotions* on shoare, or in their *vessells* at Anchor, &c. Another thing to permit *Papists, Jewes, Turkes, &c.* the free and constant *Exercise* of their *Religion* and *Worship*, in their respective Orders and Assemblies, were such Inhabitants amongst them.

Peace. Doubtlesse the *bloudie Tenent* cannot permit this *Libertie*, neither to the *Papists, Jewes, Turkes, &c.* nor to the *Indians*, nor doth their *practice* toward their *Countrymen* hold forth a shew of such a *freedome* or *permission*.

Truth. I wonder why M^r *Cotton* writes, that the most part of the *English* worship God with them, and the rest absent have *Libertie* to choose their *Preachers*! Since M^r *Cotton* knowes the *Petition* and *Petitions* that have been presented for *Libertie* of

Conscience in New England, and he cannot but also know the Imprisoning and Fining of some of the Petitioners, &c.

221] *Peace.* It may be M^r Cotton will use the common objection, that some part of their Petition tended to Disturbance in Civill Things.

Truth. Some of their Petitions were purely for *Libertie of Conscience*, which some in Office, both in Church and State favoured, as is reported, if not promoted. If others or some part of them might be judged offensive against Lawes made, yet why then hath not the *Libertie of their Conscience* (in point of *Worship*) been granted to them? When they have complained (amongst other Passages) that they have been forced to stay the baptizing of other Mens children, while their owne might not be admitted, and therefore earnestly sued for Ministers and Congregations after their owne free choice and Consciences, which have ever been denyed to them.

Peace. It is said, that their Ministers being consulted with, utterly denied to yeeld to any such *Libertie*.

Truth. They might justly feare, that if such a window were opened (as once Bishop Gardiner spake in another case) that the New English Congregations and Churches would be as thin, as the Presbyterians complained theirs to have been, when the people once began to taste the Freedome and Libertie of their Consciences, from the slaves whip, &c.

Peace. In the next Passage, the Discusser having excepted against M^r Cottons distinguishing betweene Members of the Church, and such as have given

Conscience to God in Worship a close Prisoner in New-England, and no Petitioner could obtaine its Libertie.

their names to *Christ*; M^r Cotton replies; they are not all one, and quotes, *Esa.* 65. 5, 6.

*Publike
marriage,
or giving
ones selfe to
Christ.*

Truth. Let the place be viewed, and that place will be found to speake of no such *Difference*: It speaks of the *Lords* promise to *Eunuches* and *Strangers*, laying hould on the *Lords Covenant*, and joyning themselves to the *Lord*, which I conceive M^r Cotton will not deny to be in a *Church way*; in which *condition* the *Lord* gives the *Eunuches* a name better then of *Sonnes* and *Daughters*.

Peace. In the next *Passage* M^r Cotton upon *Tertullians* speech, affirmes, that a false *Religion* will hurt, because the *Red Horse* follows the *White*, &c. [Rev. 6. 2-8.]

Truth. I answer; *Gods Judgements* (by *Warre*, *Famine*, *Pestilence*) plagueing false *Religions* in his time (though after many hundreth yeares *patience*, as hath formerly been opened) is [222] one thing: and the present *hurting* or *profiting* of *others*, is another.

Peace. In the next place M^r Cotton takes *offence* that the Discusser should insinuate M^r Cotton to have a hand in the *Modell* of *Church Government*.

Truth. I answer; M^r Cottons words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoner*, (where he speakes of this *Treatise* or *Modell*, sent to some of the *Brethren* of *Salem*) seemed to hould out the *probabilitie* of it.¹ How ever M^r Cotton subscribeth to the rest of the *Elders*, (as he here sayth) their *words* being rightly understood.

Peace. Further, M^r Cotton here affirmes, that the

¹ *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 53. See also Editor's Preface, p. 8.

want of a *Law* for *Religion* in any *State* provokes the *Wrath* of *God*, as the want of a *King* in *Israel*, Judg. ^{Judges 21.}
21. 25. ^{25 Considered.}

Truth. This *Scripture* proves no more, but that the want of a *King*, *Magistrate*, *Governour*, or *Civill Officer* of *Justice*, provokes the *Wrath* of *God*, and endangereth the people, against which the *Discusser* never affirmed, but against their *Kingly* or *Civill Authoritie* in *spirituall* cases, since *Christ Jesus* abolished that *Nationall Church*.

Peace. But sayth *Mr Cotton*, the *best Good* of a *Citie* is *Religion*, and therefore there should be a *Law* for it.

Truth. To this I have spoken largely in discussing of that *Modell*, unto which I know not of any *Reply* yet made by *Himselfe*, or any of those worthy men whom he makes the *Authours* of it.

Peace. But further, whereas the *Discusser* had said that the *weedes* of the *Wildernesse* will not hurt the *Garden*, nor *poyson* the *Body*, if not suffered to grow in the *Garden*, nor taken into the *Body*, *Mr Cotton* grants that *Christ* hath ordained *Gardiners* for his *Garden*, and *Physick* and *Physicians* for his *Body*: Yet withall he makes the *Civill Officers*, to be as *Supervisors*, *Superintendents*, and consequently, *Bishops*, *Governours*, and *Heads* of the *Church* or *Churches*, and over the *spirituall Officers* of *Christ Jesus*. ^{Supream Authoritie in Spiritualls.}

Truth. What is this but to establish *Henry* the 8. a *Spirituall Civill Magistrate*, and *Head* of the *Church*, in the roome of the *Pope*? Contrary to which I have discoursed in the discussing of the *Modell* in the bloudie *Tenent*.¹

¹ *Bloudy Tenent*, 196. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 344.

223] *Peace.* But what thinke you of M^r Cottons interpretation of *Tertullians* minde, to wit, that *Tertullian* should meane, that the *Christian Religion* would not hurt nor disturbe the *Romane Civill State*?

Tertullians Speech
of one Religion, not
hurting or
profiting
another
Considered.

Truth. I conceive it cannot stand, for although it be true that the *Christian Religion* hurts no *Civill State* (but infinitely the contrary) yet M^r Cotton will not deny that the *Christian Religion* (not of it selfe, but through the corruption of the *Civill State*) may provoke a *Civill State* many wayes, and therefore *Tertullian* must meane other wayes, to wit, every Man must stand or fall in his owne *Religion*, and the *Religion* of one man will neither hurt nor save another: Therefore (to end this *Passage*) *Tertullians* words may not unfitly be thus applied: The *Religion* of the *Protestants*, if permitted by the *Papists*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Presbyterians*, if they permitted it: And the *Religion* and *Worship* of other *Consciences* in old or *New England*, will neither hurt nor profit the *Independents*, where the power of tollerating or not tollerating lies in the hands and power of the *Independents*.

Exam: of Chap. 68. replying to Chap. 71.

Peace. **H**ERE M^r Cotton urgeth two mistakes: First in the quoting of *Jerome*: secondly, in naming *Tertullian* for *Jerome*.

Truth. Possible it is, they are neither the mistakes of the *Prisoner*, nor *Discusser*, but either the *Scribe* or *Printers* may share with them; or if they were

their owne *mistakes* (although the *Prisoner* wrote in close prison in *Newgate*, and the *Discusser* in multitude of *Distractions*, yet) they are justly to be blamed for their least *sleepines* in the handling of the *matters* of the most *Highb.*

Peace. But, *Jeromes* words (saith Mr *Cotton*) imply more then a *spirituall* cutting off; *Arius* was but a *sparke*, but because he was not speedily suppressed, his *Flame* depopulated all the World, which [224] cannot be meant (sayth he) of cutting off by *Excommunication*, which proceeded against him once and twice.

Truth. I cannot be easily induced to believe that *Jerome* intended to complaine of *Constantine*, who was not sparing at the first to put forth his temporall *Arme* and *power* against *Arius*: But this is certaine, his words are these, [*Herésie* must be cut off with the Sword of the *Spirit*: and the *Scriptures* quoted by him (1 *Cor.* 5. *Gal.* 5.) as Mr *Cotton* yeeldeth] prove onely a *spirituall* cutting off: So that it seemes not *rationall* for *Jerome* to run from the *Spirituall* Sword, about which he is now conversant, to the *carnall* and *temporall* Sword, of which those *Scriptures* (as Mr *Cotton* acknowledgeth) discourse not.

Peace. But let no man say (sayth Mr *Cotton*) that this "grant of his [That *Herésie* must be cut off by "the Sword of the *Spirit*] doth imply an absolute "sufficiencie in the Sword of the *Spirit*, to cut it downe "according to 2 *Cor.* 10. 4, 5. For though *spirituall* "*Weapons* be absolutely sufficient to the *End* for which "*God* hath appointed them, as hath been opened "above, to wit, for the *conviction*, and (if he belong "to *God*) for the *conversion* of the *offendour*, for the

* Mr Cottons and Mr Edwards Gangrenes have little differd.¹

Blasphe-
mie against
the holy
Scripture.

“*mortifying of his flesh, and for the saving of his Soule, and for the cleansing of the Church from the Fellowship of that Guilt: Yet if an Heretick will still continue obstinate, and persist in seducing, creepe into Houses, leade captive fillie Soules, and destroy the Faith of some, it may be of many, such *Gangrenes would be cut off by another Sword, which in the hand of the Magistrate is not borne in vaine.*”

Truth. This answer of Mr Cotton lookes too too like that *Distinction* of the bloudie Bishop against the poore Martyr or Witnes of Jesus (which Mr Fox mentioneth) The Scripture is sufficient for Salvation, but not for Instruction: There is need of Tradition, &c.² The Sword of the Spirit (sayth Mr Cotton) is absolutely sufficient, for these foure, to wit, the Conviction, Mortification, and Salvation of the offendour, the Heretick, yea, and for a fifth, for Expiation, and cleansing of the Church from the Fellowship of that Guilt, but there is a sixth, to wit, Infection, and there the Sword of the Spirit is too weake, and the Sword of the Magistrate must helpe.

Peace. What found and modest Reason can be (almost) [225] pretended, why the holy Ordinances, Appointments and provisions of the Lord Jesus (who

¹ Thomas Edwards, Trinity College, Cambridge (1605), was first a clergyman of the Church of England. He became a Presbyterian in 1642. His *Gangræna* was published in three parts in 1645. It was extremely bitter against all toleration. Some account of it is given by Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, ii. 37, 38. Milton stings him in his Sonnet “On the new Forcers of

Conscience under the Long Parliament,” as “shallow Edwards.” He retired to Holland soon after publishing this work, where he died. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, ii. 413.

² This is among the questions put to John Lambert in his examination before Archbishop Warham in 1538. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 331.

is the *Wisdome* of the *Father*, whose is all *power* in *Heaven* and in *Earth*, and whose *Heart* is all on *Fire* with *Love* to his people) should be so weake in suppressing the *Enemies* of his *Kingdome*, that, all the *Counsell*, *Order*, and *Power* he hath left in his *Abfcedce*, are not able to resist the *Infection* of false *Doctrine*, without the helpe of the *Powers* of the *World* his professed *Enemie*, unto whom who so is a *Friend* (sayth *John*) [*James* iv: 4.] he cannot but be an *Enemie* unto *God*. Oh what should be the *mysterie* that the two-edged *Sword* of *Gods* mighty *Spirit*, is sufficient for *Conviction*, for *Conversion*, *Mortification*, *Expiation*, *Salvation*, but yet not powerfull enough against *Infection*?

*Mysterie
of false
Christs.*

Truth. There is written evidently, on the *Forehead* of this *plea*, as on the forehead of the great *Whore* (*Revel.* 17.) [5.] *Mysterie*. The *Ægyptian Onions* (as I may so speake) are full of *Spiritual* *Infoldings*, or *Mysterie*s: One or two I shall briefly unfold or peelee.

*The true
Christ de-
spised for
his power-
tie.*

First, the *Clergie* (*sacrilegiously* so called) in all *Ages* since the *Apostasie*, have (like some *proud* and *daintie Servants*) disdain'd to serve a poore despised *Christ*, a *Carpenter*, one that came at last to the *Gallowes*, &c. And therefore have they ever framed to Themselves *rich* and *Lordly*, *pompous* and *Princely*, *temporall* and *Worldly Christs*, instead of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*, the *spirituall King* of his *Saints* and *people*. And however it suits well the common *End* to retaine the Name of *Christ* (as the *Lord Jesus* prophesied many false *Christs* should arise, and many should come in his Name, &c.) yet most sure it will

be found, that a temporall *Crowne* and *Dignitie*, *Sword* and *Authoritie*, *Wealth* and *Prosperitie*, is the *White* that most of those called *Scholars*, *Ministers*, *Bishops*, aime and levell at:¹ How many thousand of them will readily subscribe to the pleas of the *French Bishops* against the Lord *Peter*, disputing before *Philip* the *French King* for temporall *Jurisdiction*, and *Peters* two *Swords* in the hands of *Christs Ministers*.²

A base esteeme of the Spirituall Sword.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* is not far off, for howsoever He and some will say with him, one *Sword* is enough for a *Presbyter* or *Elder*, enough for *Conviction*, *Conversion*, *Mortification*, *Expiation*, and *Salvation*, yet one *Sword* is not enough against *Infection*, and therefore it is needfull (though we are not of the opinion 226] of those *French Prelates* and others, that challenged to themselves the *Sword* of temporall *jurisdiction* into their owne hands, yet) it is needfull that it be at our call in the hands of our *Executioners* the *Civill Magistrates*.

Earthly Christs need earthly supports.

Truth. It is impossible that *temporal* and *worldly Christs* should walke with the legs of a *spirituall supportment*, but as (in respect of outward *Government*) they spring from the *Earth* and the *World*, it is impossible I say but their *Feeding* and *Aliment*, *Defence* and *Protection* should be of the nature of the *Root* and *Eliment* from whence they arise.

Peace. It is objected, was the *Church* of the *Jewes*

¹ The centre of the target in archery was painted white. Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, v. 5.

² A Parliament was called by Philip the Fair at Paris, Dec. 15, 1309. Peter de Cugneriis opened the discussion on the

part of the King, distinguishing between the temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The prelates made a long reply, which is to be found in Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, 1: 402-414.

temporall that was assisted and protected with a *temporall Sword*?

Truth. The *Spirit* of *God* tels us (*Heb.* 8. & 10.) of a worldly *Sanctuary*, of a *weake* and *old vanishing Covenant*, to wit, a *Nationall Covenant*, and *Ordinances* of a *Jewish Church*.

Peace. It is againe said how can the *Discusser* extoll the *Sword* of the *Spirit* only, and acknowledge no *Churches*.

Truth. Although the *Discusser* cannot to his *Souls* *satisfaction* conclude any of the various and severall sorts of *Churches* extant to be those pure golden *Candlesticks* framed after the first patterne, *Rev.* 1. [12. 20.] Yet doth he acknowledge golden *Candlesticks* of *Christ Jesus* extant; those golden *Olive trees* and *candlesticks*, his *Martyrs* or *Witnesses*, standing before the *Lord*, and testifying his holy *Truth* during all the *Reign* of the *Beast*, *Rev.* 11. [4.] Hence, although we have not *satisfaction* that *Luther* or *Calvin*, or other precious *Witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*, erected *Churches* or *Ministeries*, after the first patterne (as they conceived they did) yet doth he affirm them to have been *Prophets* and *witnesses* against the *Beast*, and furnished sufficiently with *spirituall Fire* in their *mouthes*, mightily able to consume or humble their *Eemies*, as *Eliab* did with the *Captains* sent out against him. [2 Kings 1: 10.]¹

The state
of Chri-
tianity
during the
reigne of
Antichrist

¹ He says in *The Hireling Ministry*, p. 4, that he "cannot yet in the holy presence of God bring in the result of a satisfying discovery, that either the beget-

ting ministry of the Apostles or Messengers to the Nations, or the Feeding and Nourishing Ministry of Pastors and Teachers, according to the first Institu-

Peace. I will object no more, please you (*Dear Truth*) to passe on to the 2nd. viz. the *Ministry* of the *Spirits* pretended *insufficiency* against *Infection*: why should not the spiritual power of the *Lord Jesus* be powerful enough against *creepers* into *Houses*, against such as lead *captive* silly souls, against such as *destroy* the *faith* of some, &c. as well as in the first *Churches* and *Assemblies*, professing his holy *name* and *worship*?

Truth. Search his *Will* and *Testament*, and we find no other [227] but *spiritual* means prescribed and bequeathed by the *Lord Jesus*, to *Paul* to *Peter*, or any of the holy *Apostles* or *Messengers*.

Constantines peace
a greater
tryal and
danger to
Christians
then 300
years per-
secutions.

Peace. I must needs acknowledge that the poor servants of *Christ*, for some hundereth of years after the departure of the *Lord* enjoyed no other power, no other *Sword* nor *Shield* but *spirituall*, until it pleased the *Lord* to try his *children* with *Liberty* and *ease* under *Constantine* (a soarer *Tryall* then befell them in 300 years *persecution*) under which *temporall protection*, *munificence* and *bounty* of *Constantine*, together with his *temporall Sword*, drawne out against her *spirituall enemies*, the *Church of Christ* soon forfeited of the too much *boney* of worldly *ease*, *authority*, *profit*, *pleasure*, &c.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, the second *mystery* is this. In all ages, the world hath been o'respread with the

tion of the *Lord Jesus*, are yet restored and extant. It may then be said, what is that *Ministry* that hath been extant since *Luther* and *Calvin's* time (especially what is that *Ministry* that hath been Instrumental in the hand of the *Lord*, to

the conversion of thousands?) I answer, The *Ministry* of *Prophets* or *Witneses*, standing with *Christ Jesus*, against his great corrivall and competitour *Antichrist*. Revel. 10. 11."

delusions and *abominations* of *false worship*, invented by *Sathan* and his *Instruments* in opposition to the pure *worship* of the *God of Heaven*: Against these the *Lord Jesus* hath not been wanting to stir up his *witnesses*, *servants* and *souldiers*, fighting for their *Lord* and *Master* spiritually, &c.

Sathans
two wayes
of quench-
ing the
Candle of
Christian-
ity.

These *witnesses*, when *Sathan* hath not been able to vanquish and overcome them by *disputing*, *writing*, &c. (but hath ever lost that way) he hath been forced to run to the *fleshly Armouries* of temporall *weapons* and *punishments*, and to fetch in the powers of the world; So hoping to dash out the *Candle of Truth* and break the *candlesticks* thereof the *witnesses* of *Christ Jesus*: This *Sathan* hath ever practiced one of these two wayes, sometimes by (pretended) legall tryals and *executions* of *Justice*, sometimes by most horrid and dreadfull *murthers* and *massacres*

Peace. Thus hath *Christ Jesus* indeed been vanquished, and driven out of this world by the powers of *Cæsars*, *Kings* and other earthly *Governours* and *Rulers*.

Truth. 'Tis a fresh and bleeding *History* of that famous *disputation* between the *Cardinal* and *Prelates* of *France* and *Beza* with his *protestant assistants* under *Charles* the 9th. And not long after that of that most barbarous and horrible *murther* and *massacre* of about 30000 *Innocents*, to finish and compleat that *victory* which the pretended *Disputation* and spirituall arme could never effect.¹

The
French
Massacre
must doe
what their
pretended
disputa-
tion could
not effect.

¹ The Colloquy or Conference of Poissy was held in 1561, at the beginning of the reign of Charles IX. The chiefs of the

Catholic and Protestant parties were invited. Theodore Beza appeared at the request of Calvin, and as his representa-

228] *Peace*. Yea in the bloody *Marian* dayes, there must be *Convocations* cald at *London*, and downe must these famous *witnesse*s of *Jefus*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer* to dispute at *Oxford*[:] but faithful *Philpot* for his free disputing in the *Convocation* at *London*, and *Cranmer*, *Latimer* and *Ridley* for not yeelding away the truth at *Oxford*, they must all feel the rage of the *fiery furnace*, who bow not downe to the *golden Image*.¹

Pretended
disputes in
Q. Maries
days, end-
ing in fiery
flames.

The late
Synodical
disputes.

And (without offence of *civill Authority*, or disrespect against any mans person be it spoken) in the late great *disputes* between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* at *VWestminster*; what a *Tempest* raised, what *Earthquakes* and *Thunders* cal'd for, from *Earth* and *Heaven*, ihat the second *sword* of the *magistrate* (herein the *Presbiteriaus Servant* and *Executioner*) might effect that which all the *power* of the *pretended sword* of *Gods Spirit* was never able to reach to.²

Pea. To proceed, *M Cot.* is greatly offended at

tive. The first public conference was held September 9, and the last October 9. The disputation was carried on chiefly between Cardinal de Tournon and Beza. Its result was not altogether adverse to the Protestants. In January, 1562, an edict of toleration was issued, which gave them a protection before denied. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day begun August 23d, 1572. "Le calcul le plus modéré, celui fait par de Thou, élève le nombre des victimes à près de trente mille." H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, xi. 278. *Thuani Hist.*, iii. 145. For an account of the Colloquy of Poissy, see Martin, *Histoire*, &c., xi. 74-79. *Thuani Hist.*, ii. 117-127.

¹ Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, were sent to a disputation at Oxford, April 10, 1554. John Philpot, of New College, Oxford, was Archdeacon of Winchester. October 18, 1553, a Disputation was held at Convocation-House, in London, in which Philpot took part. He was called to account by Gardiner, and was burned at Smithfield, December 18, 1555. He was of Williams's opinion in regard to "the baptizing of infants." Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, iii. 36-74, 16-24, 459-512.

² The Presbyterian party in the Westminster Assembly, which was in an overwhelming majority, was against toleration, and called upon the magistrate to

this word: to wit [the Eye of the Answerer could never be so obscured, as to run to the *Smiths-shop* for a sword of Iron, and steel to help the Sword, of the Spirit; if the Sun of Ryghteousnes had pleased to shew him that a *Nationall Church*, &c.] And his anger breaths forth, first against all *Hereticks* thus: If there be stones of the streets, the Magistrate need not run for a Sword from the *Smiths shop*, nor an Halter from the *Ropiers* to punish an *Heretick*. A bloody and most unchristian speech.

Truth. It is true, the warehouse of persecution is so abundantly filled with all sorts of bloody Instruments, besides Swords and Ropes, that the *Primitive* and *Latter* times have told us how many severall sorts of sorrows, pains and torments the servants of the living God, have felt by severall Instruments of Blood and Death, besides Ropes and Swords, &c. and all to punish (as Master Cotton sayth) the *Heretick*, the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* &c.

Peace. What is this Anger but Fury, *Ira furor brevis est*? And what weapons can be wanting to Fury, not the stones in the streets (saith Master Cotton) *Furor armor ministrat*, for the magistrate needs not (saith he) stay so long as to run to a *Smiths-shop* for a sword, or to the *Ropiers* for a halter, &c.

draw his sword against what were called "sectaries." At a later period the Presbyterians having a temporary majority in Parliament, showed their intolerant temper in passing an "Ordinance against Blasphemy and Herefy," which went so far as to inflict the penalty of death on those who would not abjure certain proscribed errors of opinion. This act was passed May 2, 1648. Neal gives the sub-

stance of the Act, with a list of the heresies, and says it was "one of the most shocking laws I have met with in restraint of religious liberty, and shows that the governing Presbyterians would have made a terrible use of their power, had they been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate." *Hist. of Puritans*, ii. 79
Crosby, *Hist. of Baptists*, i. 199.

The rash
fury and
madnesse
of perfec-
tors
even
against
them-
selves.

Peace. O the *mysterie*s of iniquitie and cozenage of sin, that a *Lambe* of *Christ* should thus roar out like a *Lyon*, and (as the speech may be construed by some) so far as in him lies to provoke [229] the *civill powers*, yea the people in the streets to furious outrage, and not so much as to attend proceedings in pretended legal Trials and executions, but in the madnesse of *Barbarous murthers* and *massacres*, and that even upon himselfe and the Independants in their meetings, &c.

Peace. But 2dly. he finds fault with the Discussers wit, for bringing such light *conceits* into grave *discourses* and *disputes* about the holy things of God.

Pleasant-
nesse of
wit sancti-
fied, glori-
fies the
giver.

Truth. If there be anything favouring of wit in the Discussors speech, let all men judge whether there be not a *double*, yea a *treble* portion in this of Master Cottons; I acknowledge, *Non est major confusio quam serij & Joci*. The Discussor dares not willingly to prophane the holy name of the *most high* with *lightnes*, no not with those fine turnings of wit which the word forbids, (*ἐντραπείλια*, *Ephes.* 5. [4.] which becomes not *Christs schollars*, but rather the giving of thanks: And yet there is an holy wit and pleasantnes in *Samsons Riddle*, in *Jothams* and *Jesus* his *Parables*, yea, and in *Eliab* his sharpe and cutting language, which cut as deep to their deluding consciences, as the *Knives* and *Lances* of their *Idolatrous backs* and *bodies*; Yet none of these were (as Mast. Cotton insinuates against the Discussor) for naming of *Smiths-shop*) playings with *feathers*, &c.

Peace. But what thinke you of his confidence, touching his *New-England Diana*, to wit, that the

Discuffer will never be able to make it good : that the Church in *New-England* is implicitly, a *Nationall* and *State Church*?

Truth. His own words seem to prove it, for if it be a *Church* and not *Churches* of *N. England*, as elsewhere he speaks (and as the Scripture ordinarily speaks, the Churches of *Judea*, *Galatia*, &c.) it cannot be no other but a *Nationall*, as the *Englisb-Church*, *Scotch-Church*, *French-Church*, &c. But possibly it being a mistake, I answer, A *Nation* in the common and large extent, I dare not call *New-England*, but thus, the severall *Plantations* or *Colonies* of one *Religion*, or way of *worship* make up one *Colony* or *Province* of *Englisb-men* in this part or tract of *America*. I cannot thererefore call the *Church* of *New-England* (properly) a *Nationall Church*, but a *Provincial Church*, a *State Church*; cast into the mould of a *Nationall Church*, distinct into so many *Parishes*, I say not expressly and explicitly, but implicitly and secretly, [230] which the *son* of *righteousnesse* will at last reveal, as clearly and brightly in the eyes of all men, as the *sun* that shines at *Noonday*.

The pretended particular Churches of *N. E.* indeed but a *Nationall Church*.

At present, I affirm (what ever are the *pretences*, *pleas* and *coverings* to the contrary) that that *Church estate*, that *religion* and *worship* w^{ch} is *commanded* or *permitted* to be but one in a *country*, *nation* or *province* (as was the *Jews religion* in that typical land of *Canan*) that *Church* is not in the *nature* of the particular *Churches* of *Christ*, but in the *nature* of a *Nationall* or *state Church*: the nature of a particular *Church* of *Christ*, is to be one, 2 or 3 (more or lesse) in *Townes* mission of

No permission of

any Religion or worship but one in *N. E.* therefore are the Churches, but a Nationall Church in the mould of them, &c.

or *Cities* (as in all the instances of the *New-Testament*, but the nature of the *State Church* is when the whole State is turn'd into a *State Church* in so many *Parishes* or *Divisions* of worshippers: and it is made odious & intolerable for any part of this *City, state, &c.* not to attend the *common worship* of the *City*, sanctifie the holy *times*, and contribute to the holy *Officers*, and to walke in another way, which is the generall state and practise of *New-England*.

2. That is a *nationall* and *state Church* where the *Civill power* is constituted the *Head* thereof, to see to the *conforming* or *reforming* of the *Church*, the *truth* or *falsehood* of the *Churches*, *Ministries* or *ministrations*, *ordinances*, *Doctrine*, &c.

In the particular *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*, wee finde not a tittle of the power of the *civill magistrate* or *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*. It is impossible but a *Nationall* and *Civill* head must be head of a *Nationall* or *State Church*, which (upon the point is but a *civill* or *temporall Church* (like the head thereof) and not a *heavenly* and *spirituall*: I say, a *Civil* or *temporall Church*, subject to the *changes* of a *changeable Court* or *Countrey*, and the *interpretings* and *expoundings* of *Scripture*, to what the *Court* or *Countrey* is subject to approve or disprove of.

3. It is a *Nationall* or *State Church*, where the *opposite* or *gain-sayer*, the pretended *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer*, &c. is some way or other punished, put forth of the *State* or *Countrey* it selfe by *death* or *banishment*: whereas *particular Churches* put forth no further then from their *particular societies*, and the *Hereticks*, &c. may still live in the *Countrey* or *Countreys* unmolested by them.

4. That Church cannot be otherwise than a *Nationall* or [231] *State Church*, where the maintenance of the *Worship, Priests and Officers*, is a *State maintenance*, provided by the care and power of the *State*, who (upon the point) payes their *Ministers* or *Servants* their wages; whereas the maintenance of the *Worship and Officers* of a *particular Church*, we finde by *Christs Testament* to be cared for sufficiently by *Christs power*, and meanes in his *Church*. A State Maintenance prov-eth a State Church.

5. That *Church* is a *Nationall* or *State Church*, whose whole Assemblies, in *Synods, Councells, Provinciall, Nationall, &c.* If M^r Cotton can disprove the truth and substance of these and other *particulars* alledged, so farre as concerne the *generall and Body* of the *Countrey* combined (whatsoever little *variation* some particular *Townes* may make) the *Discusser* must acknowledge his *Errour*, but if M^r Cotton cannot doe it, as I believe he cannot (what ever flourish a wit may pretend) the *God* of mercy pardon what by M^r Cotton is done in Ignorance, and awaken *him* and *others*, who cause his people to goe astray; according to that of the Prophet; Their *Shepheards* cause this people to goe astray. [Jer. 50:6.] Synods assembled by Civill Power, prove the Churches of the same Nature with the Head that acts and calls them.

Peace. O that all *Gods sheepe* in *New England*, and such as judge themselves their *Shepheards*, may truely judge themselves at the *tribunall* of their *owne Conscience* in the *presence* of the *Lord*, in the *upright Examination* of these *particulars*: But to leave *New England*, and to returne to the *Land of Israel*: I “should thinke (sayth M^r Cotton) not onely mine “eye obscured, but the sight of it utterly put out, if “I should conceive (as the *Discusser* doth) that the

“*Nationall Church State of the Jewes* did necessarily
 “call for such *weapons* to punish *Heretiques* more then
 “the *Congregationall State of particular Churches* doth
 “call for the same now in the dayes of the *New*
 “*Testament*.

Truth. It is a *strange Speech* to proceede from so
 knowing a Man, but let us ponder his *Reasons* in the
 feare of God.

Peace. Was not (sayth Mr Cotton) the *Nationall*
Church of the Jewes compleatly furnished with
Spirituell Armour to defend it selfe, and oppose *Men*
 and *Devills*, as well as *particular Churches* of the
New Testament? Had they not power to convince
 false *Prophets*, as *Elijah* did the *Prophets of Baal*?
 had they not power to separate *Evill Doers* from the
Fellowship of [232] their *Congregations*? And he
 addeth, an *uncleane Person*, although he might not
 Enter into the *Temple*, with the rest of the *Israelites*
 to *worship the Lord*, yet he was permitted to live in
 the *Common-weale of Israel*, Men *uncircumcised* both
 in *Heart* and *Flesh*.

*Touching
 the differ-
 ence be-
 tween the
 Church of
 the Jewes
 and the
 Christian
 Churches.*

He addeth further, that the *Nationall Church of*
Israel was powerfully able by the *Sword of the Spirit*
 to defend it selfe, and to offend *Men* and *Devills*, for
 which he quoteth, *Zach.* 4. 6. And he asketh, doth
 not the *Discusser* himselfe observe that time was, in
 the *Nationall Church of the Land of Canaan*, when
 there was neither *Carnall Sword* nor *Speare* to be
 found, 1 *Sam.* 13. [19.]? And was not then the
Nationall Church powerfully able by the *Spirit of*
God to defend it selfe, and to offend *Men* and *Devills*
 as well as *particular Churches* now?

Truth. I answer: First, As much as the *shadow* of a Man falls short of a *Man* himselfe, so did all their *Ordinances* (which were but *shadowes* of *spirituall things* to come) fall short of that bright enjoyment of *Christ Jesus*, and *spirituall* and *heavenly things* in him, now brought to Light by *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel* or *New Testament*.

2. M^r Cotton will never demonstrate that the putting forth, or Excommunicating of a person from the *Church* of God amongst them, was other then cutting off from the Land by *Death*, and the *Civill Sword*, the same being *spiritually* executed now in the *Israel* of God, 1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5. 12.

Thirdly, Although the *Stranger* uncircumcised might live amongst them, yet none of the *Native Israelites* might so live, nor yet might the *Stranger* *prophane* the holinesse of the Lord by labour on the *Sabbath*, which M^r Cotton will never prove ought now to be kept by all *Countries* of the world, and that under such *Penalties*, as was in the Land of *Canaan*, the *holy Land*: Nor that they had *spirituall power* sufficient to punish the willfull breach of any *Morall* or *Ceremoniall* dutie, without the helpe of the *Carnall Sword*, the contrary to which is plaine in the *New Testament*, 1 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 10.

Fourthly, For the Scripture, *Zach.* 4. 6. Not by might nor Power, &c. The *Prophet* doth not here oppose the *Spirit* to might or power, so as to deny the use of *Carnall weapons*, might or power, which God had vouchsafed to them against all *Enemies* 233] within and without, but sheweth it to be the work of Gods own finger or Spirit in the use of car-

The holy
Land of
Canaan a
None such.

A Figure of
the Christian.

The weapons of the
Jewes and

Christians compared. *nall meanes* which they used for the raising of the *Materiall Temple* and *Civill defence* of Themselves against all *Opposers, Hinderers, &c.* Whereas 2 Cor. 10. [4.] the *Apostle* flatly opposeth *Spirituell Weapons* against *Carnall*, and M^r Cotton will never prove that the *Corinthians* or any of the *Saints of Christ*, did enjoy other *Weapons*, in that *first* or the *Ages* next after, but onely the *Spirituell Weapons* and *Artillery* which the *Apostle* mentioneth.

No Speare nor Sword in Israel. Lastly, To that of 1 Sam. 13. [19.] I answer, That when there was no *Speare* nor *Sword* in *Israell*, the *Israelites* were not powerfully able to defend Themselves against their *Enemies*, except that *God* was pleased *extraordinarily* to stirre up meanes of their *preservation*, as wee see in the case of *Jonathan* and his *Armour-bearer* against the *Philistims*. In like manner I believe that where the ordinary power of *Gods* hand in his holy *Ordinances* is withdrawen, it is his *extraordinarie* and immediate *power* that preserveth and supporteth his people against *Men* and *Devills*; as in particular, during the *reigne* of *Antichrist* in stirring up and supporting the two *Witnesse*s.

Exam: of Chap. 69. replying to Chap. 72.

Touching the Testimony of *Brentius*.

Peace. IT is untrue, sayth M^r Cotton, that we *restraine* Men from *Worship* according to *Conscience*, or *constraine* them to *Worship* against *Conscience*, or that such is my *Tenent* or *practice*.

Truth. Notwithstanding Mr Cottons cloake, to wit, that they will not meddle with the *Heretick* before he hath sinned against his owne *Conscience*, and so persecute him onely for sinning against his *owne Conscience*, yet I earnestly beseech every Reader seriously to ponder the whole *streame* and *series* of Mr Cottons *Discourse*, *Propositions*, *Affirmations*, &c. through the whole booke, and he shall then be able to judge whether it be untrue that his *Doctrin*e tends not to *constraine*, nor *restraine Conscience*.

234] 2. For the matter of fact, how can he with any *Humilitie* before the *flaming eyes* of the most *Highb*, cry out, no such *practice*, when

First, Their *Lawes* cry out a *Command* under *Pen-* New-Eng-
land loath
to be ac-
counted
persecu-
tours. *altie* for all to come to *Church*, though not to be *Members*, which in truth (as hath been opened) is but a *colour* and *visard*, deceiving himselfe and others: And a *cruell Law* is yet extant against *Christ Jesus*, muffled up under the *hood* or *vaile* of a *Law* against *Anabaptistrie*, &c.¹

Secondly, Their *practice* cryes, their *Imprisonments*, *Finings*, *Whippings*, *Babishments* cry in the Eares of

¹ "It is therefore ordered and decreed that wheresoever the ministry of the word is established according to the order of the Gospell through out this Jurisdiction, every person shall duely resort and attend thereunto respectively upon the Lords dayes &c; and if any person within this jurisdiction shall without just and necessary cause withdraw himself from hearing the publick ministry of the word, after due meanes of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such publick meeting 5 shillings." *Mas.*

Col. Records, iii. 78.

"It is ordered and agreed that if any person or persons within the jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to induce others from the approbation or the use thereof, or shall appear to the Court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment." *Mas. Col. Records*, ii. 85.

the *Lord of Hosts*, and the louder because of such *unchristian figleave, cloakes, &c.*

Peace. Let it be granted (sayth Mr Cotton) that we did both, yet this did not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*, but the *outward* man onely! Nor would we (sayth he) think it fit to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*.

Truth. I cannot discerne the *Coherence* of these three Affirmations: 1. We *restraine* no man from *Worship* according to *Conscience*. 2. We make *Lawes* but to binde the *outward* man onely. And yet againe (3) we thinke not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*. Mr Cotton lived once under a

Lawes concerning
Gods Wor-
ship.

Popish Law, to weare a *fooles Coat* or *Surplice* on his back, and to make *Conjuring Crosse* with his Fingers, why should he say, that this Law went beyond his back and his fingers, and came even to his *Conscience*? If these pettie bonds did binde his *Conscience*, as well as his back and his fingers; Oh let not Mr Cotton so farre put off the Bowells of *Compassion* toward *Christ Jesus* and his *Followers*, yea toward all men, as to binde their backs, and their Necks, their *Knees* and *Hands backward* and *forward*, to or from *Worship*, and yet say he binds but the *outward man*, &c.

Danger-
ous distinc-
tions.

Yea and oh let not such *uprightnes, candor, and Integrity*, as Mr Cotton hath been noted for, be blemished with such an *Evasion* as this, to wit, when it comes to selfe, that *Conscience* his owne or his *Friends* be offred to be bound, &c. then he shall flie to his third *Evasion*, saying, We think it not meete to binde the *outward* man against *Conscience*, that is, against our *Consciences*, &c. What ever becomes (sinck or swim) of other Mens.

235] *Peace.* In the next Passage, God needs not (sayth Mr Cotton) the helpe of the *Magistrate* more in the *Second*, then in the first *Table*.

Truth. God needeth not *absolutely* for the matters ^{Touching} of the *Second Table*, though *respectively*, because he ^{keeping of} hath appointed *Ordinances*, unto which he hath gra- ^{both Ta-} ciously referd himselfe. But for the *first Table*, he hath no neede at all, of *carnall weapons*, no not *re-* ^{bles.} *spectively*, because he hath appointed *Ordinances* to thousand-fold more *potent*, *suitable* and *sufficient*.

Peace. Whereas it was urged, that if *Magistrates* must use their *materiall Sword* in keeping of both *Tables*, they must be able to judge of both: Mr Cot- ^{Of Mag-} ^{istrates} ^{Judgement} ^{in Spirit-} ^{uals, &c.} *ton* replies, that it is enough, that they be able to judge in *Principles* and *Foundations*, and of the *Arrogancie* of a *tumultuous Spirit*; for such want not *Judgement* to censure *Apostasie* or *Heresie*, *Idolatrie*, &c.

Truth. It is not like that a *Carpenter* who hath skill sufficient to judge the *Principles* and *Foundations* of a *house* or *Building*, should be unable to judge about the *Beames*, *Posts*, &c.

2. With what great darknes, have the best of *Gods children* themselves been covered these many hundreth yeares, touching the very *Fundamentalls* of *Gods Worship*!

Peace. Whereas it was said further, that either ^{Of Quali-} ^{fications of} ^{Magis-} ^{trates.} they are not fitly qualified *Magistrates* and *Common- weales*, that want this *abilitie* to judge, &c. Or else they must judge according to their *Conscience*! Mr Cotton replies; *Many Qualifications* are required in *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, *Ministers*, *Churches*, the want whereof may make them *sinfull*, but not *unlawfull*.

Truth. I answer; some *Relations* are *Passive*, as that of children, who may be true and lawfull *children*, although they know not that they are *children*. But, such *Relations* as are *active* in their *choice* and *consent*, as of *Husband*, *Wife*, *Magistrate*, &c. these cannot be *lawfull*, unless they be fitted and *qualified* to performe the *maine* and *essentiall* duties of *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Servants*, *Magistrates*. That *Husband*, *Wife*, *Servant* cannot be lawfull, that are engaged to other *Husbands*, *Wives*, *Masters*: Nor can that *Magistrate* be *lawfull*, who is a *mad-man* or *Ideot*, not able to discern between *Right* and *Wrong*: and truly (were *Magistrates* bound, as to the *chiefe part* of their *Dutie* and *Office*) to establish the true *Religion*, &c. he were no more then [236] a *mad-man* (as to the first Table) that were not spiritually indued with ability of discerning the true *Church*, *Ministry*, *Worship*, &c.

Peace. Now whereas it was further urged that
 Of Magistrates Abilities. then the *Common-weale*, the Civil, Naturall state, hath more Light concerning the *Church of Christ* then the *Church* it self, &c. Master Cotton replies, it followes not, because that is a weak *Church* that knowes no more light then that of the Principles; and beside; what light the *Common-wealth* hath it may have received from the *Church*.

Truth. I answer, If *Kings* and *Queens*, &c. be nurcing *Fathers* and *Mothers* (in a spirituall respect) over the *Church*, as is usually alleadged; can it be expected but that the *Nurse*, *Father* or *Physician* should know more of the *Childs state* then the *Child* or *Patient* himselfe, who oftentimes knows not his

sicknesse, nor that he is sick, (as oft may be the case of a *Church* of *Christ*) It is impossible, but they must have more light then the Child, yea and much more impossible that they should receive their Light and direction from the Child, &c.

Peace. We see, saith Master *Cotton*, that *Magistrates* sometimes have more *Light* in *matters* of *Religion* then the *Church* it self, as *David* and *Hezekiah*.

Truth. This (1) confirms what I said, that these *Kings* being appointed by *God*, *Formers* and *Reformers* of the *Church* of *Judah*, they must needs have more *light* in the matter of *Reformation* then the *Church* it selfe to be reformed.

David and
Hezekiah
figurative
Kings, &c.

2 I must deny that *David* and *Hezekiah* were other then types of *Christ* *Jesus*, both in his owne person and in such, who in his absence are by him deputed to manage the *spirituall* power and sword of his holy and *spirituall* Kingdome.

Peace. Yea, but alas, saith Master *Cotton*, there is no colour, that because *Magistrates* are bound to discern and serve *Christ* with their power, that therefore they may punish *Christ* and *Christians*.

Truth. True, therefore, Master *Cotton* elsewhere saith, they must suspend to deal in *Church* matters untill they can judge, &c.

And this, First implies their *light* and *judgement* (absolutely necessary) in all such matters of the *Church*, about which they are to Judge and act as often I affirme.

237] 2 I aske what kind of *spirituall Physicians* will Master *Cotton* have, who shall be bound to suspend their *power*, all their lives long, unlesse they have

Magistrates suspending in matters of Religion. skill to judge of *Diseases*? will not the similitude hold against such spirituall *Fathers*, *Nurces*, *Physicians*, who all their life long (yea the greatest number beyond compare of all their spirituall *Fathers* upon the face of the Earth) must wholly suspend from acting in spirituall diseases or cases, to wit, in reforming, establishing, &c.

3. Although it excuseth not ('tis true) such *Magistrates*, *Princes Common-wealths*, for making this *Doctrin* their ground of persecuting *Christ* and *Christians*, yet doubtlesse it makes their sin the greater who feed them with such bloody *Doctrines*, and so consequently occasion them upon the rocks of such fals and dangerous and *bloody practices*.

Exam: of Chap. 70. replying to Chap. 73.

Peace. IN this Chap. (*Dear Truth*) lye many *stones* of offence, at which the feet of the unwary most easily may stumble; I hope your carefull and steady hand may be a blessed *Instrument* of their *Removall*: As First, although Master *Cotton* subscribe unto *Luther* that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* doth extend no further, then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, yet (saith he) he may and ought to improve that power over their *Bodies* and *Goods* to the good of their *Souls*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace* my hand (the hand of *Christ* assisting) shall not be wanting: but what offence can be taken at the propositions?

Pea. The proposition like an apple of *Sodom*, is fair

and specious untill you crush it by examination : For, by maintaining the *Magistrates* power over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the subject, for the good of his *Soul*, it is clear in this Chapter and others foregoing and following, that Master *Cottons* words drive at no lesse then a seizing upon, and *plundering* of the goods, the *Imprisoning*, *whipping*, *Banishing* and *kill-*
ing the *Bodies*, of the poor people, and this under the Cloak and colour of saving their *Souls* in the day of the *Lord Jesus*. Wofull
Soul-sav-
ing.

Truth. The *Civil State*, and *Common-weal* may be compared to [238] a piece of *Tapistry*, or rich *Arras*, made up of the severall parts and parcels of the *Families* thereof. Now by the *Law* of *God*, *Nature* and *Nations*. a Father hath a power over his Child, the Husband over the Wife, the Master over, &c. and doubtlesse they are to improve that power and *Authority* for the good of the *souls* of their Children, *Yoak-fellows*, &c. But shall we therefore say that the Father and the Husband hath power under *Christ* over the *conscienies* and *religion* of the Child or Wife, as a Father or Husband had under *Moses* *Numb.* 30. The pow-
er of Pa-
rents, Hus-
bands,
Magif-
trates in
spirituals.
Parents are commanded in the *Gospel* to bring up their *Children* in the instruction and fear of the *Lord*; the *Husband* is commanded to labour to win
and save his *Wife* (with other power then the Wife also her Husband) whether *Turke* or *Jew*, *Antichristian* or *Pagan*: but such a *power* and *sword* to be improved (as Mr *Cotton* here pretends) for *soul-good*, Master *Cotton* will never finde in the Testament of *Christ Jesus*. 1 Cor. 7.
[16.]

The *Plain English* is (what ever be the Cloak or

The
tearme
[*Souls-
good*]
commonly
but a paint
&c.

cover which the *States, Kings* and *Rulers* of this world use in this case) this terme [for *souls good*] is no more then the old Popish *Jesabels* painting, *pro salute animæ, pro redemptione animæ*, or as that noble St. *John* observed in a speech at *Guild-hall*, that the *Kings* party made use of the name of *Peace*, as the *Papists* used the name of *God*, *In nomine Domini, &c.*¹

Peace. It is most lamentable to see how the *Kings* of the *Earth* are grossly flattered by their *Clergy*, into as grosse a belief that they are most *Catholick Kings* as in *Spain*, most *Christian Kings* as in *France*, *Defensors* of the *Faith* in *England*. Hence those two bloody *Persecutors* of *Luther*, *Charles the Fifth*, and *Henry the Eighth*, were celebrated even upon the posts of the doors in *Guild-Hall*: *Carolus, Henricus vivant, defensor uturque, Henricus Fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ*.

Peace. And yet to what other end have or doe (ordinarily) the *Kings* of the *Earth* use their *power* and *authority* over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their *Subjects*, but for the filling of their *paunches* like *Wolves* or *Lions*, never pacified unlesse the peoples *bodies*, *goods* and *Souls* be sacrificed to their *God-belly* and their owne *Gods* of *profit*, *honour*, *pleasure*, &c.

¹ Oliver St. John of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards of Lincoln's Inn, argued in behalf of John Hampden, in the case of ship-money. He was in Parliament for Totness, and was made attorney-general, and afterwards chief-justice of Common-pleas. In 1652, the year of this publication, he was sent ambassador to the Netherlands. He died

in 1673, aged about seventy-five. He was connected with Cromwell by marriage. Mr. Carlyle speaks of him as "dusky, tough St. John, whose abstruse fanaticisms, crabbed logics, and dark ambitions, issue all as was very natural in "decided avarice" at last." *Life of Cromwell*, ii. 6. Wood. *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 453.

Peace. But in the second place Master *Cotton* affirms, that by procuring the good of sheir *souls*, they may much advance [239] the good of their *bodies* and outward man also.

Truth. This *Proposition* is as fair as the former, but in the *searching* and *crusbing* is as *rotten*, for how-ever it is most true (as he quoteth 1 *Tim.* 4, [8.]) that *Godlinesse* hath the promise of this *Life*, and of a *bet-* The prom-
ises of tem-
porall mer-
cies confid-
ered.
ter, and also that such as seek first the *Kingdome* of *God*, may expect outward mercies to be cast upon them, yet these promises can never by any rule of *Chrift*, be stretched to proue outward prosperity and flourishing to the followers of *Chrift Jesus* in this present evill world.

Peace. He that is in a pleasant *Bed* and *Dreame*, though he talke idly and insensibly, yet is loath to be awaked.

Truth. Those sweet promises supply *Gods servants* with what outward blessings his holy *Wisdome* seeth they have need of for his service: But when wil Master *Cotton* indeed witnesse against a *Nationall Church*, and cease to mingle *Heaven* and *Earth*, the *Church* and *worldly state* together? when will he cease to propose the rich and peaceable, victorious and flourishing *Nationall State* of the *Jewes* as the *Type* of the *Carnall* peace and worldly wealth and honour of the spirituall *Nation* and *Kingdome* of *Chrift Jesus*? when will he more plainely and simply conforme the members to the head *Chrift Jesus* in the *Holinesse*, *Glory* of his *spirituall poverty*, *shame* and *sufferings*?

Peace. I have in the experience of many Ages

observed the flourishing prosperity of many *Cities*, *Common wealths* and *Nations*, where no sound of *Christ* hath come, and that for hundreths, yea, some thousands of years together, as hath former-[ly] in this discourse been instanced.¹

Truth. You have found that when the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse of *War*, *Famine* and *Death* have thundered upon the *Nations*, it hath not been upon the decay of a *State Religion*, but most commonly upon the *rejecting* and *persecuting* of the *Preachers* and *Witnesses* against it.

Peace. Yea Master *Cotton* himselfe observeth that such of *Gods servants* as grow fatterst in *Godlineſſe*, grow not outwardly in *wealth*, but *God* keepeth them low in *outward estate*.

Worldly
prosperity
ever dan-
gerous to
Gods chil-
dren.

Truth. I conclude this passage with an observation of constant *experience*, ever since the *Son of God* ascended the *Heavens*. The neerer *Christs* followers have approached to worldly wealth, ease, liberty, honour, pleasure, &c. the neerer they [240] have approached to *Impatience*, *Pride*, *Anger* and *Violence* against such as are opposite to their *Doctrine* and *Profession* of *Religion*: And (2) The further and further have they departed from *God*, from his *Truth*, from the *Simplicitie*, *Power* and *Puritie* of *Christ Jesus* and true *Christianitie*.

Peace. In the next Passage Mr *Cotton* (though with another heart, yet) in the *Language* and *Tongue* of the *Pharisees*, seemes to take part with the *Prophets* against the persecuting *Fathers*, and amongst many things he prohibites *Magistrates* this one, to wit, that he must not make *Lawes* to binde *Conscience*.

¹ Page 16, *supra*.

Truth. What is a *Law*, but a *binding Word*, a *Commandement*? What is a *Law* to binde *Conscience*, but a *Commandement* that calls for *Obedience*? And must wee raise up such *Tumults*, such *Tragedies*, and fill the face of the *World* with *streames* of *bloud*, about the *Christian Magistrates* reforming *Religion*, *establisshing Religion*, killing the *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Seducer*, and yet all this without a *Law*, that may in the name of *Christ* exact obedience?

Peace. I wonder what we shall thinke of those *Lawes* and *Statutes* of *Parliament*, in *old* or *New England* that have bound the peoples *Consciences*, at least so farre, as to come to the *Parish Church*, improving (as *Mr Cotton* sayth) the *power* and *Authoritie* over their *Bodies* for their *Souls good*? What shall wee call all those *Lawes*, *Commandements*, *Statutes*, *Injunctions*, *Directions*, and *Orders*, that concerne *Religion* and *Conscience*?

Truth. The plaine truth is, *Mr Cottons* former reforming zeale, cannot be so utterly extinguished, as to forget the name and *Notion* of *Christian Libertie*, although in this bloudie *Discourse*, he hath well nigh, if not wholly) sold away the Thing! The *Conscience* (sayth he) must not be bound to a *Ceremonie* (to a pretended *indifferent Ceremonie*): And yet loe, throughout this *Discourse*, he pleades for the binding of it from these and these *Doctrines*, from these and these *Worships*, and binding to this or that *Worship*, I meane, to come to the publike *Towne* or *Country Worship*! Just for all the world, as if a Woman should not be bound to make a *Curtisie*, or *Salutation* to such a Man, but yet shee should be

bound (will she nill she) to come to his *bed* at his pleasure. *Worship* is a true or false *Bed*, *Cant.* 1. 16.

Peace. It is observable in the next place, what Mr *Cotton* [241] observeth, concerning the *Principles* of *saving Truth*, to wit, that no good *Christian*, much lesse good *Magistrate* can be ignorant of them.

Truth. In the Consideration of the *Modell*, this *Goodnesse* or *Badnes* of the *Magistrate* is Examined, and easily it is proved (to my understanding) that this Assertion confounding the nature of *Civill* and *Morall goodnesse* with *Religious*, is as farre from *Goodnes* as *Darknes* is from *Light*.¹

Peace. To this Issue tends Mr *Cottons* Conclusion of this passage [verily the *Lord* will build up and establish the *House* and *Kingdome* of such *Princes*, as doe thus build up his.]

Persecution the
ordinarie
Portion of
Chriffs
Followers

Truth. The promise of *God* to *David* concerning his *House* and *Kingdome* in the *Letter*, is most true in the *Mystery* and *Antitype*, as to the *Spirituall House* and *Kingdome* of King *David*, King *Jesus*, in such *Princes* or *Propheticall Kingly Spirits*, who *Spiritually*, in the Word of *Prophesie* (the *Sword* of *Gods Spirit*) contend, for the *Spirituall Kingdome* of *Christ Jesus*: *God* will establish them in *Spirituall Dignitie* and *Authoritie*: But take this literally (as Mr *Cotton* carries it) and as he never will finde any such *Dutie* lying upon *Princes* in the *Gospell*, nor any such *promise* of *temporall prosperitie*, but holy *predictions* and *foretellings* of the *crossse* and *persecution* ordinarily to all that will live *Godly* in *Christ Jesus*, and the greater *persecution* to the most zealous and faithfull *Servants*

¹ *Bloody Tenent*, 134, 135. *Pub. Narr. Club*, III., 245, 246.

of *Christ Jesus*: So neither can he give any true Instance (truely proper and parallell) to this purpose.

Peace. Me thinks although successe be no constant rule to walke by, yet *Gods providence* in successe of *Journies, Victories, &c.* are with great care and feare to be attended to and pondered, and the *Hand* and *Eye* of *God* to be observed in them, of what sort or Nature so ever they be.

Truth. Two instances of greatest successe and tem-
porall prosperitie we have presented to us on the pub-
like stage of this world, before our owne *Dores*, crown-
ing the *Heads* of such *States* and *States-men*, as have
attended to *mercy* and *freedome* toward oppressed Con-
sciences.

The first is that of the *State of Holland*: The sec-
ond of our owne Native *England*, whose renowned
Parliament and *victorious Armie* never so prospered,
as since their *Declaration* and *practice* [242] of *pitie*
and *mercy* to *Consciences* oppressed by *Mr Cottons*
bloudie *Tenent*.

Peace. In the next Passage, it being a *Grievance*
that *Mr Cotton* should grant with *Luther* the *Magif-*
trates power to extend no further then the *Bodies*
and *Goods* of the Subject, and yet withall maintain-
eth, that they must punish *Christians* for sinning
against the *Light of Faith* and *Conscience*: *Mr Cot-*
ton answers:

First; He supposeth the *chiefe good* to be that of
Christian Faith and *Good Conscience*.

Secondly; Suppose (sayth he) by *Goods* were meant
outward *Goods*, yet the *Magistrate* may punish such
in their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as seduce, &c. for (sayth

Two
States won
derfully
favoured
by God,
upon mer-
cy shewed
to oppress-
ed Con-
sciences,
formerly
Holland
and now
the State of
England.

Bodies and
Goods the
Magif-
trates
object.

he) in seeking *Gods Kingdome* and the *Righteousnesse* thereof, Men prosper in their outward *Eſtates*, Matth. 6. 23. Otherwise they decay.

Laſtly, He remembers not the propoſition to be his, [*The Magiſtrates power* extendeth no further, then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*] He answereth it is true in reſpect of the *Object*, though not in reſpect of the *End*, which (ſayth he) is *εὐπολιτένευν*, *Bene adminiſtrare Rempublicam*. And he asketh if it be well with a *Common-weale*, enjoying bodily *health* and worldly *wealth*, without a *Church*, without *Chriſt*! And he concludes with the Inſtance of the *Romane Empire*, which had it not caſt away *Idolatrie* (ſayth he) had been ruined.

Truth. For answer; Firſt, the *diſtinction* is famous among all Men of the *Bona* or *Goods* of *Animi*, *Corporis*, *Fortunæ*: and againe, that of the *Minde*, *Soule*, and *Conſcience* within, and that of the *Body* and *Goods* without, that it can be no leſſe then a *Civill* as well as a *Spirituell Babell* to confound them.

Oppreſ-
ſion in
Bodies
Goods and
Minde.

Secondly, To his *Suppoſition*, ſuppoſe (ſayth he) by *Goods* were meant outward *Goods*, yet the *Magiſtrate* may puniſh ſuch in their *Bodies* and *Goods*, as doe *Seduce*, &c. I ſee not how theſe Cohere any better then the grant of ſome *Papiſts*, that the *Churches* power extends no further then the matters of *Faith* and *Conſcience*: But yet (ſay they) they may puniſh ſuch in their *Bodies* and *Goods* as *ſeduce*, &c. Mr *Cottons Suppoſitions* and the *Papiſts* come both out of the ſame *Babylonian Quiver*.

But thirdly, let us minde his *Reaſon* from *Matth.* 6. [33.] In ſeeking *Gods Kingdome* men prosper in out-

ward estate, otherwise not : [243] I answer, this *Proposition* would better befit the pen of a *Jew* then a *Christian*, a follower of *Moses*, then of *Jesus Christ*, who although he will not fayle to take care for his in *Earthly Providences*, that make it their chiefe worke to seeke his *Kingdome*, yet he maketh (as I may say) *Christs Crosse* the first *Figure* in his *Alphabet*, taking up his *Crosse* and *Gallowes* (in most ordinarie persecution,) which with selfe-deniall, are the assured *Tearmes* his *Servants* must resolve to looke for.

'Tis true, he promiseth and makes good, an *un-dreth Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Wives, Children, Houses and Lands* : But Mr Cotton well knowes, it is [with persecution]. And how this outward prosperitie, agrees with *Imprisonments, Banishments, hanging, burning*, for *Christs sake* : the *Martyrs* or *Witnesses* of *Jesus* in all *Ages*, and the cry of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, may bring againe to his *Remembrance*, if *New Englands peace, profit, pleasure and Honour*, have lulled him into a *Forgetfulnessse* of the principles of the true Lord *Jesus Christ*.

Wealth,
Honour,
and Prof-
peritie fel-
dome at-
tending
Christs
true Fol-
lowers.

Peace. But Mr Cotton remembreth not the *Proposition* to be his, to wit, that the *Magistrates* power extendeth no further then the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the Subject.

Truth. Mr Cotton hinted not his least dissent from *Luther* (as he otherwayes useth to doe if he disowne,) &c.

Secondly, He grants it true in the *object*, to wit, that the object of the *Magistrates* power is the *Body* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, though not in the *End* which

he faith is ἐνπολιτεύειν, well to administer the *Common weale*: Now I aske what is this *Common weale*?

What is
the Common
weal of
Israel.

Peace. The *Spirit* of God distinguisheth in the *New Testament* between the *Common weale* of the *Nations* of the *World*, and the *Common-weale* of *Israel*. The *Common-weale* of *Israel*, Mr Cotton will not affirme now to be a *Church* *Provinciall*, *Nationall*, *Oecumenicall*, but *Particular* and *Congregationall*.

Truth. If so, then the *finall cause* of both these *Common weales* or *States* cannot be the same. But although the *End* of the *Civill Magistrate* be excellent, to wit, well to administer the *Common-weale*, yet the end of the *Spirituell Common-weale* of *Israel* and the *Officers* thereof, is as *different* and *transcendent* as the *Heaven* is from the *Earth*.

Peace. But how (sayth Mr Cotton) can it be well with the [244] *Common-wealth* that injoyes bodily health, and wordly wealth, if there be no *Christ*, no *Church* there? and how was it with the *Romane Empire* which the *Red-horse* of *War*, and *Black horse* of *Famine*, and *Pale horse* of *Pestilence* would have ruined, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

The Ro-
man Em-
pire flour-
isheth in
worldly
glory
without
Christ.

Truth. Concerning this instance of *Rome* Master Cotton here acknowledgeth it abounded in *worldly blessings*, till the *Lord Jesus* came riding forth upon the *White Horse* of the *Gospel*. And Master Cotton may remember that from the *Foundation* of her rising and *Glory*, laid by *Romulus* until *Christs* time, it flourished about 750 years in a long chaine of *generations* succeeding each other in *worldly prosperity*, and yet no *Church* nor *Christ* to uphold it, so far is Master Cottons *Romish* instance from countenancing Mr. Cottons *Roman Doctrine*.

Peace. But when *Christ* came (saith Master Cotton) and was neglected, then the *Red* and *Black* and *Pale* horse had almost destroyed her, if she had not cast away her *Idols*.

Truth. I answer, *Rome* the head of the *Empire* cannot be said to neglect *Christ* (until the bloody Tenent of persecution arose among them) I say, not to neglect *Christ* more, nor so much as other *States*, for there were so many of the *Romanes*, and so glorious professors of *Christ Jesus*, that all the world over the Faith and *Christian* obedience of the *Romanes* was renowned. The Citie of Rome famous for professing Christ Jesus.

2 The *Roman Empire* cannot be said to cast away her *Idols*, but to change (as the *Portugals* did in the East-Indies) her *Idols* her more grosse and *Pagan Idols*, for more refined & beautified *Idols*, painted over with the name of *Christ*, the true *God*, *holines*, &c. and this in the glorious dayes of *Constantine*, or not long after. The *Church* of *Christ Jesus* which under persecution remained a *wife* and *spouse* of *Christ Jesus*, now degenerates and apostates into an *Whore*, in the times of her ease, security and prosperity. (Whole Cities, Nations, and the whole world forced and ravished into a *whore* or Anti-christian Christian.) Christ's Spouse most chaste under persecution.

3 As far as the *East* is from the *West*, so far is the world and nations and Empire of it from the holinesse of *Christ Jesus*, holy Spirit, Truth and Saints: With what appearance then of *Christ's holinesse*, *glory*, &c. can Master Cotton advance the world, (the *Roman Empire*) to be (as he here speaks) the Advancer of the *scepter* of *Christ Jesus*?

245] *Peace*. If this *Roman Empire* be that dreadful *Beast*, (in *Daniels* prophecy) more strange and terrible then the rest, yea, and more terrible to *Christ Jesus* and his servants, then was the former *Babylonian Lion*, or *Persian Beare*, or *Grecian Leopard*, what truth of *Jesus* is this, that advanceth this dreadfull bloody *Beast* to be the *Advancer* of the *Scepter*, that is, the *Church* and Government, the *Truth* and *Saints* of *Christ Jesus*.¹

The Ro-
man Mon-
archy
bloody to
the Saints.

Peace. Glorious things (Dear Truth) are recorded of *Constantine* and other glorious Emperors.

Constan-
tine a
friend and
enemy to
Christs
Spouse.

Truth. The *Beast* was (sweet *Peace*) the *Beast* still, although it pleased *God* to give some refreshing and reviving to his persecuted servants, by *Constantine* and other blessed Instruments yet *Constantines* favour was a bitter *sweetening*, his *superstitious zeal* laying the *Foundation* for after *Usurpations* and *Abominations*.

The state
of the Ro-
mane Em-
pire before
and after
Christ.

4 But further, for neer 1000 years together, both before and after *Christs time*, *Rome* grew and flourished (with little alterations of her *glory* in comparison) untill this very time that Master *Cotton* cals this *casting away* of her *Idols*: For not before, but after *Constantines* advancing of *Christians* to wealth and honour, &c. I say neer about 300 years together (interchangably) after his time, untill *Pipinus*, and *Charles* the Great, the City and state of *Rome* was almost ruined and destroyed, by the often dreadfull

¹ After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and

brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. *Daniel vii: 7.*

incurfions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, and other furious Nations: So contrary to the truth of *Jesus* is this fleſhly doctrine of worldly wealth and proſperity, and alſo this very inſtance of *Rome* and her glory here diſcuſſed.¹

Peace. Maſter *Cotton* ends with *prayer* and *bleſſing* to God (as *James* ſpeakes) and bitter and cutting *curſings* and *cenſures* to man, the poor Diſcuſſer, who (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) ſeduceth himſelfe and others and delights to doe it, and againſt the *light* of *grace* and *conſcience*, againſt *reaſon* and *experience*.²

Truth. The Diſcuſſor is as humbly confident of *Grace* and *Conſcience*, *Reaſon* and *Experience*, yea, the God of all *Grace*, *Chriſt Jesus*, his holy *Spirit*, *Angels*, *Truth* and *Saints* to be on his ſide, as Maſter *Cotton* otherwiſe can be: But the day ſhall try, the *Fire* and *Time* ſhall try which is the *Gold* of *Truth* and [246] and *Faithfulneſſe*, and which the *Droſſe* and *Stubble* of *Lyes* and *Errour*.

In the meane time I dare pronounce from the *Teſtimony* of *Chriſt Jesus*, that in all Controverſies of *Religion*: That *Soul* that moſt poſſeſſeth it ſelfe in patient ſuffering, and dependeth not on the *arme* of *fleſh*, but upon the arme of *God*, *Chriſt Jesus*, for his comfort and protection, that *Soul* is moſt likely (in my obſervation) to ſee and ſtand for the *Truth* of *Chriſt Jesus*.

Peace. In the next place Maſter *Cotton* denyes

¹ For an elaborate account of the deſtruction of *Rome* and its cauſes, ſee *Gibbon*, *Decline and Fall*, chap. lxxi.

² Therewith bleſs we God, even the Father: and therewith curſe we men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God. *James*, iii: 9.

to compell to the *Truth* by *penalties*, but onely by withdrawing such favours as are comely and safe for such persons.

Truth. I have formerly answered, and doe, that a great Load may be made up by Parcels and particulars, as well as by one *masse* or *bulke*; and that the backs of some men, especially Merchants may be broke, by a withdrawing from them some Civill priviledges and rights (which are their due) as well as by afflicting them in their Purfes, or Flesh upon their backs.

2 *Christ Iesus* was of another opinion (who distinguisheth between *Gods* due and *Cæsars* due: and therefore (with respect to *God* his cause and Religion) it is not lawfull to deprive *Cæsar* the Civil Magistrate, nor any that belong to him of their Civil and Earthly rights. I say in this respect, although that a man is not *Godly*, a *Christian*, sincere, a *Church member*, yet to deprive him of any *Civill right* or *Priviledge*, due to him as a Man, a Subject, a Citizen, is to take from *Cæsar*, that which is *Cæsars*, which *God* endures not though it be given to himselfe.

God will
not wrong,
nor have
Cæsar
wronged.

Peace. Experience oft-times tell us, that however the stream of just *Priviledges* and *Rights* hath (out of *Carnal Policy*) been stopt by *Gods people*, when they have got the *Staffe* into their hands (in divers *Lands* and *Countreys*) yet hath that *streame* ever returned, to the greater *calamity* and *tryal* of *Gods people*.

Truth. But (thirdly) it hath been noted that even in *New-England*, penalties by *Law* have been set to

force all to come to *Church*, which will appear upon a due search to be nothing else but an outward profession of *force* and *violence*, for that *Doctrine* which they suppose is the *Truth*.

247] *Peace*. Concerning coming to *Church*: wee tolerate (saith Master *Cotton*) *Indians*, *Presbyterians*, *Antinomians*, and *Anabaptists*: and compell none to come to *Church* against their *conscience*, and none are restrained from hearing even in *England*.

Truth. Compelling to come to Church is apparant whether with or against their Conscience, let every man look to it. The toleration of *Indians* is against professed *principles*, and against the *stream* of all his present dispute as before I proved.¹

Concern-
ing tolera-
tion in
New-Eng-
land.

Touching the *Magistrates* duty of suppressing *Idolatry*, *Witchcraft*, *Blasphemy*, &c. such *Indians* as are (posseßedly subject to *English*) in *N. England*, notoriously continue and abound in the same which if they should not permit, it as apparant, their *subjection* is hazarded.

Tis true, this *Toleration* is a *Duty* from *God*, but a sin in them because they profess it their Duty to suppress *Idolatry*, *Blasphemy*; I adde, Master *Cotton* may say, we not onely tolerate the *Indians* in their abominable and barbarous *worships*, but (which may seem most incredible) we tolerate the *Indians* also in that which by our *civil principles* we ought to tolerate no subject in, that is, in abominable *lying*, *whoring*, *curfing*, *thieving*, without any active course of restraint, &c.

Tis true, Those *Indians* submitting to their Gov-

¹ See pp. 232, 233, *supra*.

ernment (as it may be Master Cotton will say to the ten Commandments) yet living in all kind of *Barbarisme*, live some miles more remote: how ever they are (they say) their subjects) were every miles distance an hundreth.

Peace. But is there any such and professed tolleration of *Antinomians*, *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, as is here insinuated?

Witnesse
the bloody
whipping
of *Obadiab*
Holmes for
the point
of *Bap-*
tisme lately
at *Boston*.¹

Truth. I know of no tolleration of *Presbyterian*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists* worshipping God in any meetings, separate from the *common Assemblies*.² If any such persons be amongst them (like Church-Papists) it is their sin, that they separate not from such opposite *Assemblies* and *Worships*, and it is the sin of such *assemblies* to tolerate such persons after due admonitions in the name of *Christ* rejected.

But further Master Cotton grants a *Communion* in

¹ pp. 52, 53, *supra*.

² There was from the beginning more or less latent dissent existing in the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, besides that which found its outlet into Rhode Island. Cotton says, "There be Anabaptists and Antimonians tolerated to live not only in our jurisdiction, but even in some of our churches." *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, 165. Winslow in his *Briefe Narration* (1646) alleges not only that Presbyterians were allowed amongst them, but speaking of the Anabaptists and the law against them in Massachusetts, says "certain men desiring some mitigation of it, it was answered in my hearing, 'Tis true we have a severe law, but we never did or will execute the rigor of it upon any; and have men living amongst us, nay, some in our churches, of

that judgment.'" Young, *Chron. of Pilgrims*, 404. Winslow also says of Mr. Chauncy of Scituate, who was afterwards President of Harvard College, "In the Government of Plymouth, to our great grief, not only the pastor of a congregation waiveth the administration of baptism to infants, but divers of his congregation have fallen with him." *Chron. of Pilgrims*, 405. The exact fact however seems to have been that he held "that the children ought to be dipped and not sprinkled." *Winthrop*, i: 398. ii: 86. He immediately succeeded Mr. Dunsfster in the Presidency of Harvard College, who was removed for disowning the baptism of infants altogether. Mather, *Magnalia*, i: 367. Quincy, *Hist. Harv. Coll.* i: 18. To these instances may be added the later testimony

hearing in a *Church-Estate* by *Church members* but not in any as are no *Church-members*, but come in as the *Pagan, Infidell*, 1 *Cor.* 14. [23.]

Truth. Communion is twofold, First, open and ^{Communion Spi-}professed [248] among *Church Members*: Secondly, ^{rituall}*Secret* and *implicite* in all such as give their *presence* ^{two-fold.} to such *Worships* without *witnessing* against them. For otherwise, how can a *Church-Papist* satisfie the *Law*, compelling him to come to *Church*, or a *Protestant* satisfie a *Papish Law* in *Papish Countries*, but by this *Cloake* or *Covering*, hiding and faving of themselves by bodily *presence* at *Worship*, though their *Heart* be farre from it.

Peace. Whereas it was said, that *Conscionable Pa-* ^{The great}*pists*, and all *Protestants* have suffered upon this ^{Triall}ground, especially of refusing to come to each ^{among Pa-}others *Church* or *meeting*. Mr *Cotton* replies; They ^{pists &}have suffered upon other *points*, and such as have re- ^{Protestants}fused to come to *Church*, have not refused because ^{concern-}such hearing implanted them into *Church-Estate*, ^{ing com-}but out of *feare* to be leavened. ^{ing to}
^{Church}

Truth. 'Tis true, many have suffered upon other *points*, but upon due *Examination* it will appeare that the great and most *universall Tryall* hath been, amongst both *Papists* and *Protestants* about coming to *Church*, and that not out of *feare* of being *leavened* (for what *Religion* is ordinarily so distrustfull of its owne strength?) as of Countenancing what they believe *false*, by their *presence* and *appearance*.

of Cotton Mather. "Infant baptism hath been scrupled by multitudes in our days, who have been in other points most worthy Christians, and as holy, watchful, faithful, heavenly people, as perhaps any in the world. Some few of these peo-

ple have been among the planters of New England from the beginning." *Magnalia*, ii. 459. But all this does not impugn the allegation of Williams in the text that they were not tolerated "separate from the common assemblies."

Exam: of Chap. 71. replying to Chap. 74.

Peace. **C**ONCERNING the *Papists testimonie* against *persecution*; Mr *Cotton* replies: First, why may not their *Testimonie* be *wicked*, as well as their *Booke*, confest so to be? Secondly, He grants, that *Conversion* of *Soules* ought not to be but by *Spirituell* means.

Truth. It is true, the Authour of the *Letter* calls their *booke wicked*, and themselves the *Authours* of *persecution*, yet their *Testimonie* is in part acknowledged by Mr *Cotton* to be true, and will further appeare so to be upon *Examination*: But whether Mr *Cotton* allow of no other *Armes*, then *Spirituell* to be used about *Spirituell conversion*, it hath and will be further examined.

Peace. Whereas the *Papists* alledge (*Matth.* 10. [16]) that *Christ* [249] *Jesus* sent his *Ministers* as *sheepe* among *Wolves*, not as *Wolves* among *sheepe*, to *kill, imprison, &c.* Mr *Cotton* grants this true, yet adds that this hindreth not *Excommunication*, *Tit.* 3. [10.] nor *miraculous Vengeance* against *Spirituell Wolves* (*Acts* 13. [11.]) where there is a *gift*: nor their *Prayers* against such, *2 Tim.* 4. 4. nor their *stirring up* of the *Civill power* against them, as *Elijah* did *Abab* and the people against the *Prophets* of *Baal*,

Touching 1 Kings 18. 40.

prayers
for Ven-
geance up-
on Gods
Enemies.

Truth. Concerning the two first we agree, for the third, the *Prayers* of *Gods people* against *Gods Enemies* we finde two-fold: First, *Generall* against all; secondly, *Particular* against some; and that two-fold; First for *Gods Vengeance* in *Gods time*, leaving it to his holy *Wisdome*; as *Paul* prayd

against *Alexander*. Secondly, For *present Vengeance*; as the *Disciples* desired in the case of *Christ*, Luke 9. [54.] And against such *Prayers* the Discusser did and doth contend.

For the fourth, in *Stirring up of the Civill State* ^{Stirring up of the Civill State to} against *false Prophets*, I must answer as before, Let ^{persecute.} Mr *Cotton* produce any such *Civill State* in the *World*, as that *Extraordinarie* and *miraculous State* of *Israel* was, and I yeeld it: otherwise, if the *passage* be *extraordinarie* and *typing*, why doth Mr *Cotton* adde fuell to *Nebuchadnezzars fierie furnace*, which hath been so dreadfully hot already, and hath devoured so many *millions of Gods people*?

Peace. Further out of *Matth.* 10. [17. 18.] Where the *Ppaiſts* booke ſays, *Chriſts Miniſters* ſhould be delivered, but ſhould not deliver up, thoſe whom they are ſent unto to *convert*, unto *Councells* or *Prifons*, or to make their *Religion Felonie* or *Treaſon*; Mr *Cotton* answers; What is this to *Apoſtates*, who ſeeke to *ſubvert* the Faith they have profeſt? What is this to them that ſeeke to *ſubvert States*, and kill *Kings*; which *Doctrine*, in downeright tearmes, he at laſt chargeth upon the *Authour* of the *Letter*, and the *Diſcuſſer*.

Truth. But how falls an *Antichriſtian* or *Apoſtate* more directly under the ſtroake of the *Civill Sword*, then a *Jew* or *Turke* or *Pagan*? By what rule of *God* or *Chriſt* hath a *Magiſtrate* of this *World* *Authoritie*, ſo to puniſh the one above the other? And where hath Mr *Cotton* found one Title, either in the *Letter* or in the *Diſcuſſer*, which forbids the *Magiſtrate* to puniſh *Felonie* [250] or *Treaſon*, whether

The bloudie Tenent of persecution is alone the King killing and State-killing Doctrine. it be in *practice* or in *Doctrine*, leading to it? Doth not every *Leafe* and *Line* breath the contrary to what M^r *Cotton* here insinuateth? The *Truth* is, as *Potipbars* wife accusing *Joseph* was not cleare her *selfe*, so let this charge be well examined, and this will be the *Result* of it; The *Papists* and the *Discusser* agree together in asserting one *Truth* in this Chapter, to wit, that *Gods Messengers* ought not to deliver any to *Prisons* or *Councells*. But in the *Doctrine* of killing hereticall *Kings* or *Magistrates*, who sees not but such *Papists* as hould that *Doctrine*, and M^r *Cotton* meete in the end? For if the *Magistrate* prove an *Apostate*, *Blasphemer*, *Idolater*, *Heretick*, *Seducer*, (according to M^r *Cottons Doctrine*, as well as the *Papists*) such *Kings* and *Magistrates* ought (as well as thousands of his *Subjects* in like case) be put to *Death*.

Peace. Again, where the *Papists* booke argued from *Matth.* 10 [12.] that *Christ* bids his *Ministers* to salute an house with *peace*, he sends no *Purservant* to *ransack* and *spoil* it: M^r *Cotton* answers: True, but if *Seducers* be there, or *Rebells* or *Conspiratours* be there, *God* hath armed the *Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13. [4.]

Truth. M^r *Cotton* (too too like the bloudie *persecutours* of *Christ Jesus*, in all Ages) still couples the *Seducer* and the *Rebells* together, as the *Jewes* coupled *Christ* and *Barrabbas*, though *Barrabbas* finds more favor then the *Son of God*, for *Christ* as a *seducer*, a *Deceiver*, &c. is commonly executed, & *Barrabbas* released.

'Tis true the *Magistrates Commission* is from *God*, even in the time of the *Gospel*, but *Christ Jesus*

never gave *Commission* to *Magistrates* to send *Purſe-vants* to ranſack an houſe, to ſearch for *Seducers* and *Idolaters*, who tranſgreſſe onely againſt the *Spirit-uall Kingdome* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, but not againſt *Civillitie* and the *Civill State*.

Peace. This *Diſtinction* of *Evills* I remember it pleaſed *God* to open ſome of the *Romane Emperours* eyes to ſee, upon the occaſion of his poore ſervants *Apologies* preſented unto them.

Truth. You reaſonably remember this (Deare *Antonius Pius* his Ediſt for the Chriſtians *Peace*) for although we finde not *Antoninus Pius* or *Aurelius Antoninus* to have been Believers in *Chriſt Jeſus*, yet they gave forth their *Ediſts*, that no *Chriſtian* ſhould be puniſhed meerely for that he was a *Chriſtian*, except ſome other crime againſt the *Civill State* were proved againſt him: And the later of theſe gave in Ex- [251] preſſe charge, that ſuch as were their accuſers ſhould be burnt alive.¹

Peace. If ſuch an *Ediſt* or any farre more moderate ſhould come forth in our Time, againſt the great troublers of all *Civill States*, to wit, *Informers*, *Accuſers* and *Maintainers* of the bloudie *Doctrine* of *perſecution*: Doubtles thouſands and ten thouſands of Men, yea not a few of the moſt zealous *Hunters* or *perſecutors* would eaſily ſubmit to the Truth of the *Diſtinction* between the crime of a *Religion* contrary to a *State Religion*, and a crime againſt the *Civill State* thereof.

But to the *Papiſts* againe, they (laſtly) alledged *John 10.* [10.] that the true *Shepheard* comes not to kill the *ſheepe*, &c. Upon this Maſter *Cotton* queries.

¹ See pp. 232, 233, *ſupra*.

But what if the *Wolfe*, the *Thiefe* come, shall the *Shepheard* use *Spirituell Censures*, when they are not capable of such *stroakes*, or shall he not seeke helpe from the *Magistrate*, who is to see *Gods* people live a quiet and peaceable *Life* in all *Godlines* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2. [2.]?

Persecu-
tours of
Christs
Sheepe
pretend
to save
them and
kill none
but
Wolves.

Truth. I answer, and cry out, how long, how long *Lord*, before thou avenge the bloud of thy *holy ones*, against them that dwell on the *Earth*, both *bloudie Papists* and *bloudie Protestants*? Out of their owne Mouthes shall *Papists* and *Protestants* be condemned for slaughtering *Christ Jesus* (the *Shepheard*) in his poore *Sheepe* and *Servants*, and especially the *bloudie Papist*, for alledging that *Scripture*, for the *Popes bloudie Butcherie*, [*Arise Peter, kill and Eate:*] yet all pretending to save the *sheepe*, and onely to resist *Wolves, Thieves, &c.*

Antichris-
tian Min-
isters great
Thieves.

But more punctually Master *Cotton* well knowes, that in the *Mysterie* of *Antichristianisme*, many thousand *Antichristian Wolves* pretend strongly to be the harmles *sheepe* of *Christ Jesus*, yea his tender and carefull *Shepheards*, yet are but *Antichristian Thieves* and *Robbers*, who cannot dig and to beg are ashamed, and therefore finde it best to *steale* and *rob*, whole *Parishes* and *Provinces*, whole *Nations, &c.* for *Livinges*, for *Benefices*, for *Bishopricks*, *Cardinalships*, *Popedomes, &c.*

Hireling
Ministers.

Peace. What kinde of *Sheepe* and *Shepheards* (*Christ Jesus* will finde out shortly) are those *Hirelings*, *Papist* or *Protestant*, who no longer *peny*, no longer *paternoster*, no longer *pay*, no longer *pray*, nor *preach*, nor *fast*, nor *convert, &c.*

Truth. These *Babylonian Rivers* shall at last be stopt: *God* and [253] *Man* shall agree to stop them: The truth of that holy *Mysterie* of that great *Exchange* shall be opened, *Revel.* 10. [Rev. 18.] And Peoples eyes shall be opened to see, how these *mysticall Marchants* of the *Earth* (pretending to be the great *Sellers* of *Truth*) have been the greatest *Deceivers*, and *Cheators*, the greatest *Thieves* and *Robbers* in the *World*.

Peace. But Mr *Cotton* will say, *Gods people* would live at *peace* in *Godlineſſe* and *Honestie*, 1 Tim. 2. 1. as *Paul* professeth, *Acts* 25. 8.

Fryars in
Chaucers
time and
the Clergie
in our time
considered

Truth. I remember when old *Chaucer* puts this *Querie* to the four chiefe sorts of *Fryers* in his *Time* [which of the *four sorts* is the best] he finds every sort applauding it selfe, and concluding the other three sorts of *Fryers* to be *Liars*: whence in conclusion he finds them all guilty of *Lying* (in a round) before *God*, for all profest themselves to be the only *godly* men.¹

¹ The reference in the text is clearly not to any poem of Chaucer's, but to the *Crede of Piers Ploughman*. In that the writer goes through the experience which Williams here relates. Seeking for a creed, he says,

"First I frayned the freres,
And they me fulle tolden,
That all the fruyt of the sayth
Was in her four orders."

He questions the Minorites, the Carmelites, the Dominicans, and the Austins, and they abuse each other and furnish him no satisfaction.

"For I have fonded the freres
Of the four ordres;
But thei ben fulli faithles,
And the fend sueth."

Williams may have been led to ascribe this poem to Chaucer from the fact that another poem of the same period, and with the same spirit towards the clergy of the time, called *Piers Ploughman's Tale*, was inserted, though without reason, among the works of Chaucer. Wright, *Vision and Creed of P. P.* Introduction, i: xxvi.

I may now ask, who among all the sorts of *Churches* and *Ministers* applaud not themselves (like the *Fryars* in *Chaucers* dayes) to be *Christs* onely *Churches*, *Christs Ministers*, &c. And who among the severall sorts of such as are *Gods people* indeed, believe not their own *Godlines* (or worshipping of *God*) to be onely right and *Christian*?

Peace. What now if each sort should enjoy *Magistrates* of their own *profession* and *Way*?

Truth. The *bloudie Tenent* will unavoydably set them altogether by the Eares, to try out by the *longest Sword*, and *strongest Arme*, which *Godlines* must live in *peace* and *quietnes*: But as for that Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 2. [1. 2.] I have (as I believe) fully debated it, in the *Examination* of the *Modell*, and made it evident how farre from all *Godlines* and *Honestie* that holy *Scripture* is perverted.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* in the next passage being charged with partiall dealing, and a double *waight* and *measure*, one for himselfe and another for others; Mr *Cotton* in effect answereth, that it is a true and just Complaint against *persecution* and *persecutours*, but not against them, for they are *Righteous* and not *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, *Blasphemers*, &c.

Peace. What doth Master *Cotton* answer, but what all *religions*, *sects*, and severall sorts of *worshippers* in the world: all religious *Priests* and *Church-men* plead, We are *Righteous*?

The
Turkes

253] *Peace.* Yea, the very *Turkes* and *Mahumetans* challenge to themselves true *Faith* in God, yea, whe-

ther *Jews*, *Antichristians* or *Christians*, they all call themselves *Muselmanni* that is the right beleevers.¹

Truth. It is not so great wonder then if the *popish* and *protestant* sects, and *ministers* of *worship* cry out (as men use to doe in *suits* of *Law* and *pretences* to the *Crowne*) We are *righteous*, my title is good, and the *best*. We are *holy*, we are *Orthodox* and *godly*: You must spare *us*, beleeve *us*, honour *us*, feed *us*, protect and defend *us* in peace and quietnesse. Others are *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, *Seducers*, *Idolators*, *Blasphemers*, starve *them*, imprison *them*, banish *them*, yea hang *them*, burne *them* with fire and sword pursue *them*.

Peace. When it was urged (by way of prevention) that persons truly professing *Christ Jesus* be the sheep, and they cannot persecute;

First, Because it is against the nature of *Sheep* to hunt, no not the *Wolves*, that have hunted themselves, &c. Master *Cotton* answers, First if the similitude be so stretched, then if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep*, he ought not to punish *robbers*, *adulterers*, *murderers*, &c.

¹ "The term signifies 'resigned to God' and is the dual number of the singular *moslem*, of which *muslimim* is the plural." Brande, *Cyclopædia*.

"Islam or Islamism is said by Priedeaux, to signify the Saving religion; by Sale, resigning one's self to God; by Pocock, obedience to God and his prophet; Moslem or Mussulman is a derivation from Eslam or Islam, and is the common name of Mohammedans." Mills,

Hist. of Mohammedanism, quoted in Ockley, *Hist. of Saracens*, note, p. 13.

In a learned article by Mr. Deutsch, of the British Museum, in *Lond. Qy. Rev.* Oct. 1869, the derivation of the word Muslim is traced. He says, "The word thus implies absolute submission to God's will—as generally assumed—neither in the first instance, nor exclusively, but means on the contrary, one who strives after righteousness in his own strength."

2 “*Paul* was a *sheep*, and yet he strook *Elimas* with blindnesse, *Acts* 13. [11.]

3 “(Saith he) when the *Wolfe* runs upon the “*sheep*, it is not against the nature of the true *sheep* “to run to the true *sheepherd*, and is it against the “nature of the true *Sheepherd* to send forth his “Dogs, to worrie such a *Wolfe*, without incurring “the reproach of a *persecutour*.

Truth. To the first, the finger of true *Distinction* will easily untie these seeming knots.

Mistickall
sheep.

Sheep therefore are two-fold, *naturall* and *mistickall*.

Againe, *mistickall* are two-fold, First, *Civill*, and so all *Magistrates* have rightly been called *Sheepberds* and the people *sheep*.

2 Spirituall, and so *Christ Jesus* gave *pastors*, that is *Sheepheards* and *Teachers*, and all *Believers* and *followers* of *Jesus* are *sheep*.

On the contrary there are *naturall* and *mistickall wolves*: of *mistickall* some oppose the *spirituall*, and some the *Civill State*, and some both, who must be resisted by the proper *sheepheads*, and [254] proper *weapons* in each kind, and to confound these is to *deceive* and to be *deceived*.

Peace. Upon the ground of this *Distinction* we may easily perceive, that a *Shepheard* in *Civill state*, of what Religion soever he be, as a *Shepheard* of the people he ought to defend them by force of *Civill arms*, from all oppressions of *body*, *goods*, *chastity*, *name*, &c. This doth the *Magistrate* as a *Shepheard* of the *Civill state* and people, considered in a Civil respect and capacity, and this ought all

the *Magistrates* in the world to doe, whether they be *sheep* or no themselves in another respect, that is in a spirituall and *Christian*..

Truth. Yea, and if a *Magistrate* be a *sheep* or a true *Christian*, who seeth not that he punisheth not the *robber*, *adulterer*, *murtherer* as a spirituall *shepherd* with spirituall weapons, but as a *Civill Shepherd* with a *Civill staffe*, *sword*, &c?

'Tis true, *Paul* was a *sheep*, that is a spirituall *sheep*; he also was a *spirituall Shepherd*, and *Elimas* was a *wolfe* opposing spiritually, and *Paul* in his opposition strook him blind. *Striking* is two-fold, *spirituall* and *corporall*: And all the *sheep* of *Christ* as *spirituall*, are also *Lyons* and armed *men*, and so doe strike *spiritually*.

Paul his striking Elimas blind considered.

Peace. It will be said that *Paul* strook both *spiritually* and *corporally*.

Truth. *Corporal stroaks* may be considered either ordinary or mediate, by force of *armes*, *fire* and *sword*, &c. or extraordinary and immediate, such as it pleased *God* to use himselfe, and his holy *Prophets* and *Apostles* by his power: Now 'tis true, in this second way, (even in spirituall cases) *Gods sheep* which hath been indued with power above nature, that is of miracles, have plagued *Egypt*, have burnt up *Captaines* and their *Fifties*, yea pluckt up *Nations* and *Kingdomes* as *Jeremie*: *Peter* kild *Ananias* and his wife, *Paul* strook *Elimas* blind, and the two witnesses consume their *Enemies* with fire out of their mouths.

If either of these should doe this ordinarily, that is, by ordinary means (for instance, if *Peter* had

Of the power of miracles.

killed *Ananias* with a *Sword*, or *Paul* beat out *Elimas* his eyes with a *Fist* or stone) they ought to have been punished by the *Civill state*, as oppressors of the people, and transgressors against *Civill peace*, &c. But performing [255] these executions, by a spirituall, divine and miraculous power, above humane reach: all that heard were to acknowledge, and feare and tremble at the holy *Spirits* might: of this gift of miracles, I say as the Lord *Jesus* spake touching the gift of *Continency*, he that can receive it, let him receive it.

Peace. By what hath been said, I see Master *Cottons* last answer will be more easily satisfied: when the *WVolve* runneth ravenously (saith he) upon the *sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *sheep* to run to their *Shepheards*? and it is not against the nature of the true *Shepherd* to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *WVolve*, &c?

Truth. Master *Cotton* (doubtleffe) here intends *misticall sheep*, and *Shepheards*, and *WVolves* and *Doggs*, and presseth the similitude from the naturall sheep in *Civill* respect, he cannot here mean (for that is not the *Question*) whether *Wolvish-men* oppressing the *Civill state* are to be resisted and suppressed by *civill weapons*, &c.

Spirituell
sheep and
wolves
considered

Concerning *Spirituell sheep* then: the first *question* is: If the *wolve* runs ravenously upon the *Sheep*, is it against the nature of the true *Sheep* to run to their *Shepherd*? I answer, a spiritual *Wolve* (a false *Teacher*, &c.) may be said to run ravenously upon a *spirituall sheep*, by *spirituall assault* of Argument, Dispute, Reproach, &c. The same man as a *civil wolve* (for

so we must speake to speake properly) may also run upon a *sheep* of *Christ* by *Civill Armes*, that is in a *Civill respect*, upon *Body* and *Goods*, &c,

If now the *Wolfe* ravin the first way, the *sheep* of *Christ* may and ought to run, to the *Lord Jesus* (the great *Mr Shepheard*) and to such under and in inferiour *Shepheards* as he hath appointed (if he can attain to them.)

If the second way, the *sheep* (beside running to *Christ Jesus* by *prayer*, and to his *Ordinances* and *Officers* for advice and comfort) may run to the *Civill Magistrate* (appealing to *Cæsar*, &c.) against such uncivill violence and oppression.

Peace. Mine heart joyfully acknowledgeth the *Light* mine eye seeth, in that true and necessary *distinction*: Now to the Second *Question*, is it against the nature of the true *Shepheard* (saith *Mr Cotton*) to send forth his *Doggs* to worrie such a *wolfe*, &c. 256] *Truth.* *Mr Cotton* here discoursing of *Christs sheepe*, and *Christs Shepheards*, *Reason* would perswade, that the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* here intended should be the *Shepheards* or *Pastours* appointed by *Christ Jesus*, Ephes. 4. [11.]

Peace. If so he should attend, it well suits with the *spirit* of some *proud* and scornfull (pretended) *Shepheards* of *Christ Jesus* in the *World*, who have used to call their *Clarkes*, *Sumners*, *Proctors*, and *Pursevants*, their *hunting Dogs*, &c.

Truth. But such *Dogs*, (as yet) the *Independent Pastours* or *Shepheards*, keepe not.

Peace. Yea but the *Pope* (to speake in *Mr Cottons* The Pope and all phrase, yet with all humble respect to *Civill Authori-*

proud Popish Priests and Cleargie use the Civill Powers but as Dogs.

tie, the blessed Ordinance of God and Man) I say the Pope keeps such Dogs good store, yea Dogs of all sorts, not onely of those lesser kindes, but whom he useth as his Dogs, the Emperours, Kings, and Magistrates of the World, whom he teacheth and forceth to crouch, to lie downe, to creepe, and kisse his foote, and from thence at his beck to flie upon such greedie Wolves, as the Waldenses, Wicklevists, Hussites, Hugonites, Lutherans, Calvinists, Protestants, Puritans, Sectaries, &c. to imprison, to whip, to banish, to hang, to head, to burne, to blow up such vile Hereticks, Apostates, Seducers, Blasphemers, &c.

But I forget, it will be said, the *Protestants Grounds and practices* differ from the *Popes* as far as *Light* from *Darknes*, and how ever the *Pope* useth the *secular power* and *Magistrates* thereof, but as *Dogs* and *Hangmen*, yet the *Reformed Churches* teach and practice better.

The Protestant Cleargie their dealing with Magistrates.

Truth. 'Tis true (sweet *Peace*) the *Protestants* profess greater *honour* and *subjection* to the *Civill Magistrate*: But let *plaine English* be spoken and it will be found that the *Protestant cleargie* (as they will be calld) ride the *backs* and *necks* of *Civill Magistrates*, as *fully* and as *heavily* (though not so *pompously*) as ever the great *Whore* sat the *backs* of *Popish Princes*.

Peace. The *Protestant Cleargie* hath yeelded up the *temporall sword* into the hand of the *temporall State*, *Kings*, *Governours*, &c. They proclaime the *Magistrates*, *Head* of the *Church*, *Defenders* of their *Faith*, the *Supreame Judges* in all *causes* as well *Ecclesiasticall* as *Civill*.

Truth. 'Tis true, they make the *Magistrate* Head of the [257] *Church*, but yet of what *Church* they please to make and fashion.

They make him *Defendour* of the *Faith*, but of what *Faith*, what *Doctrin*e, what *Discipline*, what *Members*, they please to admit and account of: And this under the *penaltie* of being accounted either *hereticall* (and so *Magistrates* worthy themselves to be put to *Death*) or *ignorant*, and so not fit to *act* (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) but must suspend their *power*, untill they submit to the *Cleargies* pretended *Light*, and so be learnd to see and read with the *Cleargies Spectacles*.

Peace. To this purpose (indeed) agrees the next *passage*, wherein Mr. *Cotton* affirmeth, that although all the *Magistrates* in the *World* ought to punish *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, yet this must they not doe while their *Conscienc*es are *blinde* and *ignorant* of the *Truth*, and yet they cease not to be *Magistrates* (sayth he) although they cannot performe all the duties of *Magistrates*. A suspending or hanging up of Magistrates.

Truth. Concerning this *stated Dutie* of all *Magistrates*, and yet *suspending* of all *ignorant Magistrates* from *acting*, according to this their *Dutie* I have spoken to before and often, I now add, according to Mr *Cottons similitude*, if the *Errours* of others be as *motes* in comparisn of the *beames* of this *ignorance* and *blindnesse* in *Magistrates*, which he calleth *Beames*, it will be found that he renders thousands of the *Magistrates* of the *World* as incapable to be true *Magistrates*, as an heape of *Timber* to be an *House*, which wants the *beames* and *principalls*.

Peace. The *summe* of the *Difference* in the last *passage* is not great, nor any in *words*, for sayth Mr *Cottons Conclusion*, If the *Difference* be onely in the *way* and *manner* of the *Administration* of *Christ*, and the *Difference* be held forth in a *peaceable* and *Christian* way, *God* forbid a *Staffe* should be shaken against such, or a *Sword* unsheathed.

The great
spirituall
differences
of these
late Times

Of rest
from per-
secution.

Truth. Alas, where hath lien the great *Difference* between the *Prelates* and *Presbyterians*, the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, but about the *way* and *Administration* of *Christs Kingdome* (for as for matter of *Doctrine*, according to the 39 *Articles* of the *Church* of *England*, they have little differd)? Yea wherein for matter of *Doctrine*, of *Faith*, *Repentance* and *Holineffe*) have the *Churches* which make whole *seperation*, or such [258] as goe further to a new *Baptisme*, wherein have they differd from the former? and yet we know what *Lawes* have been and are extant in *Old* and *New England* against them, and what *practices* have been felt, and may justly be expected both from the *Mother* and the *Daughter*, if a jealous *God* and heavenly *Father* (for our *unthankfullnesse*) should once be pleased to finish this late and *wonderfull calme* and *moderation*: Which yet may justly be feard to prove, (as *Sea-men* use to observe) but a *Winters calme*, and they say, a *Winters calme* (for then *stormes* are breeding) is as bad as a *Summers storme*.

Exam: of Chap. 72. replying to Chap. 75.

Concerning the *Testimonie of Austin.*

Peace. **M**After *Cotton* finds two *faults* in the first entrance. First, that *Antichrist* should be said to be too hard for *Christ* at voting: 2. That *Austins Testimonie* should be put off as a *Rhetoricall Evasion.*

Truth. To the first, it will shortly appeare as the *Light* at *Noone day*, what packing of *Votes*, and *listings*, and *mustring* up of *Numbers* have been in all *Ages*, in all *Councells*, in all *Synods*, in all *Parliaments*, and (falsely so called) *Christian Countries*, against the *Lord*, his *Christ* and *Servants.*

Peace. But *Mr Cotton* marvelles that when the case concernes *tolleration* of *Hereticks* and *Antichristians*, that *Antichrist* should procure more *Votes* against *Antichristians*, and that *Christ* should procure any *Vote*, though fewer, for them.

Truth. To expound this riddle; It was never affirmed, that *Christ* hath any *Votes* for the tollering of *Hereticks* or *Antichristians* in the *Religious State* or *Church* of *Christ*, but in the *Civill State* or *Common-weale*, that is, in the common field of the world together.

Secondly, Not onely *Antichrist* may oppose some *Antichristians*, but the *Israel* of *God* may oppose *Israel*: *Ephraim* may be against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and both against *Judah* in severall respects. Have not the *Presbyterians* been against the *Independents*, and the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and both against such as *seperate* from the *uncleanesses* of them both? Gods children may possibly fight each against the other.

259] No wonder then when one *Antichristian Faction* prevails to crush another, (and therein wraps up *Christ Jesus* himselfe as an *Antichristian*;) that *Christ Jesus* should finde some *Friends* and *Votes* against the *Oppressing Faction*, though the *number* of the *oppressours* doe farre exceede, and cast the cause (most commonly) against *Christ Jesus*, as a *Malefactor*, a *Drunkard*, a *Glutton*, a *Deceiver*, a *mad-man* posselt with a *Devil*, a *Seducer*, a *Blasphemer*, &c.

Antichristians
against
Antichristians, but
principally
against
Christ.

Peace. But to the second, let us Examine the *Reasons* against *Austins Argument* with Mr *Cottons* defence of them.

Couching
spirituall
murther.

The first answer was, that *soule-killing* was of a large extent in *Scripture*, which may reach to many *sins* that are not *capital*; Mr *Cotton* replies; the Answer reaches not the *point*; for as every *killing* of the *Body* is not a *capital crime*, so neither is every *killing* of the *soule*, but such as is more *voluntary* and *presumptuous*, and joined with some *grosse* and *murtherous* intent.

Truth. *Austin* and Mr *Cotton* spake in generall, without distinction of *soule-murther* and *killing*: the *Title* and *sound* of *soule-murther* and *soule-killing*, should not be cast abroad like *Thunder* and *Lightning*, with a late excuse that we intend not every *soule-murther* and *killing*.

Peace. Your second *Argument* was from the *Dissimilitude* of *bodily* and *spirituall Death*: *Body-killing* is but once and for ever, but a *soule* killed may recover, &c. Mr *Cotton* replies, that the very attempt of *soule-killing* is *capital*, Deut. 13. 10.

Truth. First, then the *Dissimilitude* or *Difference*

remaines good, between the *murthering* of the *body*, and the *killing* of the *soule* or *inner man*; contrary to his Answer foregoing.

Secondly, Concerning this *attempting* I have spoken elsewhere,¹ and proved that *spiritually* it may be made good, against a *Christian Israelite*, falling away from *Christ*, and *seducing* others; but literally, against such *attempting* against any mans present *Religion* or *Worship*, (in any *Civill State* all the *World* over) it cannot be taken, because the *whole world*, the *Nations* and *peoples* of it cannot parallell this *State of Israel*, whence this plea is taken.

Touching
Seducers.

Peace. I presume (*Deare Truth*) you would not excuse and extenuate the *punishment* of a *Soule-Traitor* and *seducer*, now under the *Gospel*.

260] *Truth*. No; I aggravate the least attempt of *soule-murther*, and the least *prejudice* or *hindrance* to *Eternall Life*, infinitely above what is *temporall* and *corporall murther*, when either *Husband* or *Wife*, *Brother* or *Sister*, *King* or *Queene*, *Synod* or *Parliament* shall lay a *stumbling block* in the *heavenly way*, or grieve or offend the least of the *littles ones* of *Christ Jesus*, and such *dreadfull punishment* shall all even the *highest* and *greatest* finde, who now seeme to forget the *Millstone*.

The hain-
oufulness of
spirituall
stumbling
blocks.

Peace. The third argument was from the different punishment which *Christ Jesus* hath appointed for *Soul-killing*, to wit, by the two edged *sword*, which comes out of *Christs* mouth, which is able to cut downe *Heresie*, and to slay the soul of *Hereticks* everlastingly.

Punishing
of Seducers.

Master Cotton replies, *this answer hath been*

¹ p. 181, *supra*.

removed above: Church censures are sufficient to heal the Heretick, if he belong to God, and to remove the guilt of his wickednesse from the Church, but not to prevent spreading, &c. nor to cleanse the Common-wealth from such rebellion as hath been taught by him against the Lord.

Common-
weale two-
fold, and
Rebellion
two-fold. *Truth.* Above hath also been shewen the soveraigne excellency and power of *Christs* spirituall meanes against spirituall infection: Above hath also been shewen the two-fold *Common-wealth*; First, the *Civill* and *naturall*; Secondly, the *spirituall, religious* and *Christian*.

Rebellion also against the Lord hath been proved, two-fold, First, *spirituall*, against himselfe in point of his more immediate *worship* and *service*, for which he hath provided not onely the *vengeance* of *eternall fire* approaching (according to the degrees and hainousnesse of such *rebellion*) but also present *spirituall punishment*, far exceeding all *corporall punishment* and *torment* in the world.

2 *Rebellion* against God is *temporall* and more *mediate*, as it is a *resistance, opposition* or *violation* of any *Civill* state or order appointed by *God* or *Men*. Now to confound these together, (and to hover in generall tearms of *Rebellion* against the *Lord*) is to blow out the *Candle* or *Light*, and to make a noise in the dark, with a sound and cry of a *guilty Land*, a *guilty State*, *soul-murtherers*, *soul-killers*, *hereticks*, *blasphemers*, *seducers*, *rebels* against the *Lord*, kill them, kill them, &c.

Suppose these *soul-murthering Hereticks, Seducers, &c.* be as [261] full of vexation and mischief as the

Musketoos or *Wolves* in *New England* or other Countries; It were to be wished, (but never can be hoped in this world) that every *Civill state, City* and *Towne* in the world, were free from such *myfticall* and *soul-vermin*: The poor *Planter* and *Farmer* is glad, if his house and chamber, if his yard and field, his family and cattel, may be tolerably clear from such annoyances, however the *Woods* and *Wildernes* abound with them: They that are of such *fierie pragmaticall* restles *spirits*, that they content not themselves to keep the *Farme* and *House* of the *Church* of *Christ* free from such *Infection* & *annoyance*, but rage that such *vermin* are suffered in the worlds *Wood*, &c. It is pity but they had their full employment and *taske*, to catch and kill even all the *swarmes* and *Heards* of all the *Muskeetoos* and *Wolves*, which either the *Wildernes* of *America*, or the *whole World* can afford them.

4. *Peace*. Accordingly the Fourth Argument was from *Christs* tolerating of *soule-killers* to live in the field of the *World*, though not in the *Garden* of the *Church*: Mr *Cotton* replies, this hath been largely and fully refeld¹ above.

Truth. It is true, the Discusser alledged, and Mr *Cotton* refuted the *Exposition* of this *Parable*, but whether of them according to the minde of *Christ Jesus*, let every reader uprightly judge with feare and trembling at the word of the *Lord*.

Peace. The Fifth Argument was from the *Impossibilitie* of *killing* any *soule* by a *Heretick*: Mr *Cotton* answers, this is against *Paul* himselfe, 1 *Cor.* 8. 11.

Truth. As I spake unto the *Argument* of the *Im-* killing.

¹ Refelled—refuted.

possibilitie of the perishing of any of Gods *Elect*, so here, the using of such an *Argument* is far from *undervaluing* or *neglecting* of any of the *meanes* or *Ordinances*, *naturall* or *spirituall*, which God hath graciously appointed, but to condemne the *over-wise* and *over-busie* Heads and Hands of Men, adding their *Inventions* to Gods *Appointments*, as if *weake* and *insufficient*: whereas Gods number of *living* and *dead* are certaine, and through the *meanes* which he hath appointed for *life* should faile, and notwithstanding all other *meanes* in the *World* used by men as *helps* and *hindrances*, yet his holy End shall not be disappointed, but fulfilled.

Beside the Difference between *soule-killing* and *body-killing*, is but (as Mr Cotton here useth the word) *so much as in us lieth*, [262] that is by *attempt* or *endeavour*, which may be many wayes frustrated, and disappointed by the holy hand of God, and the *soule* yet saved and live in the day of the Lord *Jesus*.

Touching
State
Religions.

Peace. Whereas you said, that the *imprisoning* of Men in a *Nationall* or *State Religion* is guiltie of their *Destruction*, together with the *monstrous sword* of *Civill Warres*, which cuts off Men from all *meanes* of *Repentance*.

Mr Cotton answers; If the *Religion* be good, it is no *Imprisonment*: If it be naught, then there should be no *Imprisonment*.

To the second (sayth he) this *Feare* is *causeles*, for if Men belong to God, he will give *Repentance*, and how ever (sayth he) Gods revealed *Will* is fulfilled in their just *Executions*.

Truth. I could here ask Mr Cotton where (amongst

all the *Religions* and *Worships* of the *sonnes* of men) he ever met in the *whole World*, with above *one Nation*, which *Nationally* profest a true *Religion*; and where ever, since *Christ Jesus*, ending of the *shadows*, any *State*, *Religion*, or *Nationall Worship* can be found true; notwithstanding Mr *Cotton* knowes I grant *Gods people*, in *Kingdomes*, *Nations*, *Cities*, *Townes*, &c. to be *Gods Kingdome*, *Nation*, *Citie*, &c.

Gods
children
Gods Cit-
ie, Nation
and King-
dome.

Peace. And since Mr *Cotton* speakes thus of *Imprisonment*, me-thinkes that every *peaceable man* and *woman* may bring in here against him, at the *Tri-
bunall* of *Christ Jesus*, an *Action* of false *Imprisonment* (indeed false every way) not onely of the sensible and *outward* man, but of the most noble and *inner part*, the *minde*, the *spirit*, and *Conscience*; for who knowes not that *Jerusalem* it selfe may be a prison to false-hearted *Shimei*? Who hath not found a *pallace* a *prison*, when forc't to keepe within it? yea *confine* a man to his own *house* and *home*, though deare and familiar, and most intimate to him, his owne *house* during that *force* and *restraint*, is a *prison* to him.

A State
Religion a
prison.

Truth. Yea it is most wofully found evident, that the best *Religion* (like the fairest *Whores*, and the most *golden* and *costlie Images*) yea the most holy and pure and onely true *Religion* and *Worship*, appointed by *God* himselfe, is a *Torment* to that *Soule* and *Conscience*, that is forc't against its owne *free love* and *choice*, to embrace and observe it: And therefore whether the *Religion* be good or naught (as Mr *Cotton* here distinguisheth) there ought to

A forc't
Religion.

be no forcing, but the *soule* and *minde* and [263] *conscience* of *man*, that is indeed the *man*, ought to be left free, as in his *Earthly marriage-choice*, so here ten thousand times rather in his *heavenly* and *spirituall*.

Of the
late
Warres.

Peace. But what say you to his unmercifull *conclusion*, in the bloudshed and *destruction* of so many *thousands* and *millions*, formerly and lately *slaine* and *murthered* by this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution*? Yea the *late* and *lamentable streames* of *English* blood, and the blood of our *neighbour*s, *friends*, *Brethren*, *Parents*, powred forth by these late *Episcopall* or *Bishops Warres*? Mr *Cottons* conclusion is, The revealed will of *God* (sayth he) is fullfilled in their just *Execution*, whether they belong to *God* or no.

The blou-
die Tenent
guilty of
the rivers
of Blood,
&c.

Truth. I wish Mr *Cotton* more mercy from *God*, and a more mercifull minde towards the afflicted, and I say as the *Lord Jesus* said in the case of *offence*: Great *offences*, *Nationall offences* will come for *Religions sake*, for *Nationall Religion* sake, but woe unto those that beare the guilt of so many thousand *slaughters*, *murders*, *ravishings*, *plunderings*, &c. The *Pope*, the *Bishops*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independants*, so farre as they have been *Authours* or *Actors* in these horrible *Calamities*, out of the *perswasion* of the *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* for *Religion* and *Conscience*; the voyce of so many *Rivers* of *blood* cry to *Heaven* for vengeance against them.

Warres
for Relig-
ion.

Peace. But may not (blessed *Truth*) the *sword* of *Civill power* which is from *God* (*Rom.* 13. [4.]) be drawne and drunke with *blood* for *Christ* his sake.

What say you (among the many *examples of Religious Warres*) to the most famous *Battles of Constantine* against the bloudie persecutor *Maxentius*? Was not *Constantine Christs Champion*, as once that valiant *Scanderbeg* cald himselfe against the bloudie *Turks*?¹

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, the sword of Civill power *Constantine* was Gods sword committed by Gods most wise *Providence* into the hands of that famous *Constantine*: Doubtles his warre was righteous and pious, so farre as he broke the *Jawes* of the *oppressing persecuting Lyons* that devoured *Christs tender Lambes* and *sheepe*: And famous was his *Christian Edict*, (wherein *Licinius* joyned with him) when he put forth that imperiall *Christian Decree*, that no mans *Conscience* should be forced, and for his *Religion* (whether to the *Romane Gods*, or the *Christian*) no man should be persecuted or hunted:²

¹Maxentius was defeated by Constantine, Oct. 28, 312, at the Milvian Bridge, near Rome. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xiv. p. 168. Eusebius in his Life of Constantine preserves the tradition of his becoming a Christian through this victory, and the vision of the cross which preceded. Neander sifts the story critically. He says, "It was not until after his victory over the tyrant Maxentius, that Constantine publicly declared in favor of the Christians." *Church History*, ii. 7-12.

George Castriot, Prince of Albania, born in 1404, was given as a hostage by his father to Sultan Amurath II. when nine years old. On account of his valor the Turks gave him the name Iscander

Beg, or Prince Alexander. In 1443 by stratagem he regained the throne of his father and renounced the Mahometan faith. For twenty-three years, with unequal arms, but with unsurpassed valor, he resisted the powers of the Ottoman Empire. Marvellous tales are told of his superhuman size and strength, and of three thousand Turks slain by his single hand. As Gibbon says, they "must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism." *Decline and Fall*, chap. lxvii, p. 1221. Fox, of whose work Williams seems to have made considerable use, gives many of these stories. *Acts and Monuments*, i. 840.

² See pp. 6, 7, *supra*.

When *Constantine* broke the bounds [264] of this his owne and *Gods Ediēt*, and drawes the sword of *Civill power* in the suppressing of other *Consciences* for the establiſhing of the *Chriſtian*, then began the great *Myſterie* of the *Churcheſ* ſleepe, the *Gardens* of *Chriſts Churcheſ* turned into the *Wildernesse* of *Nationall Religion*, and the *World* (under *Conſtantineſ* Dominion) to the moſt *unchriſtian Chriſtendome*.

Never any true Nationall Religion in the World but one. *Peace*. I am unquestionably ſatiſfied, that there was never any *Nationall Religion* good in this world but one, and ſince the *Defolation* of that *Nation*, there was never, there ſhall be never any *Nationall Religion* good againe: and this will be moſt evident to ſuch as ſould the *Truth* of the continuance of *Chriſts viſible Church* in the way of *particular Congregations*.

Touching Pauls blaſphemy before his Conversion. 6. But now to the Sixt *Argument*, which Mr *Cotton* thus repeats from the *poſſibilitie* of a falſe *Teacher*, & a *ſpirituall Wolves* recoverie from the eſtate of a ſoule-killer to become a ſoule-Saviour, as it was in the caſe of *Paul*: And thus he answers; If men be ſuch *Blasphemers* and ſuch *Wolves*, as *Paul* was before his *Conversion*, neither the *Law* of *God* nor *man* would put ſuch a Man to death, who ſinned of *Ignorance*, and walked (as himſelfe profeſſed) in all good *Conſcience*, even in his former evill times, *Acts*, 23. [1.] But as for ſuch as *apoſtate* from the knowne truth of *Religion*, and ſeeke to *ſubvert* the foundation of it, and to draw away others from it, to plead for their *Tolleration* in hope of their *Conversion*, is as much as to proclaime a generall pardon to all *malefactours* (ſave onely ſuch as ſin againſt

the *Holy Spirit*) for he that is a willfull murtherer and adulterer now, may come to be converted, and die a martyr hereafter.

Truth. I see not why Mr. Cotton should passe a more charitable censure on *Pauls Conscience*, then on other Mens professing *Conscience* also and the feare of God: nor an harder censure upon other Men (to wit, that they are convinced, and sinne against their owne *Conscience*) more then upon *Paul* himselfe: Heard he not that famous powerfull *Sermon* of *Stephen*? Saw he not his glorious and most heavenly *Death*? and having so much to doe with the *Saints*, could he otherwise choose, but heare and see many heavenly passages tending to his soules conviction?

Peace. Yea why should Mr Cotton pinch upon *Apostates* from the truth of Religion and *Seducers*? Of Apostates. he cannot choose but know [265] how many thousands and millions of men and women in the world, are *Hereticall*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, that never yet made profession of that which he accounteth *True Religion*?

True. Yea and (to plead thy case Deare *Peace*) Fallacious mixture and confusion. why should Mr Cotton couple *Murtherers* and *Adulterers* with *Apostates* and *Seducers*? Doth not even the naturall *Conscience* and *Reason* of all men put a *Difference*? Doe not even the most bloudie *Popes* and *Cardinalls*, *Gardiners* and *Bonnors*, put a difference between the crimes of *Murthber*, *Treason*, *Adulterie* (for which although the offendour repent, &c. yet he suffers punishment) and the crimes of *Hereſie*, *Blasphemie*, &c. which upon *Recantation* and *Confession*, are frequently remitted?

Peace. I remember it was high *Treason* in *H. 8.* his dayes to deny the *Kings spirituall Supremacie*, as well as to *kill his person*, and yet upon *Confession* and *Recantation* we finde, that the very *Conscience* of those bloody men could distinguish between these *Treasons*.

Spirituall
Treason
recanted,
forgiven:
but not so
(by way of
course)
the Civill.
An
Instance
Jo: Hay-
wood and
the Lord
Cromwell
in King
Henry the
S. his
dayes.

Truth. 'Tis true this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* was lamentably *drunke with bloud* in the dayes of that *Henry*, as well as afterwards in the dayes of his *bloudie daughter Marie*, and yet in *Henry* his dayes we finde *John Haywood* recanting his (so cald) *Treason* against the *Kings Supreamacie* in *spirituall* things, and is cleared. When famous and faithfull *Cromwell*, for words pretended to be spoken by him against the *Kings person*, must pay his *noble Head*.¹ But to End this Chapter, most true it is, that *multitudes* of people in all parts of *bloudie Christendome*, and not a few in *England* in *Henry the 7.* and *Henry the 8.* his dayes, have escaped with a *Recantation* and *Abjuration*, for *spirituall Treasons*, when *principles* of *Reason* and *Civill Government* have taught men, for their common safetie, to thinke of other *punishments* for *Murtherers*, *Adulterers*, *Traytours*.

¹ John Heywood was one of the earliest English dramatists, and a noted jester. He was a friend of Sir Thomas More, and through him came into favor with Henry VIII. He was also a favourite of Queen Mary. After her decease he was alarmed for his safety, as he had been a zealous papist. Under Edward VI. he had been in danger of his life. Wood says "he left the nation for relig-

ion fake, and settled at Mechlin," where he died in 1565. *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 349. Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* iii. 84-94.

Thomas Cromwell was arrested in June, 1540, for high treason, and was at once condemned by an act of attainder. For the causes of Cromwell's fall and the charges against him, see Froude, *Hist. of Eng.* iii: 488-500.

Exam: of Chap. 73. replying to Chap. 76.

Discussing the Testimonie of Optatus.

Peace. **M**After *Cotton* having alledged *Optatus*, justifying *Macarius* his putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the Example of *Moses*, *Phinehas*, and *Elijah*; it was answered, that [266] these shafts were drawn not out of *Christs*, but *Moses* Quiver: *Mr Cotton* replies; did ever any *Apostle* or *Evangelist* make the *Judiciall Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Life* and *Death* ceremoniall and typical? *Of Moses Judicialls.*

Truth. What ever the *Apostles* of *Christ* did in this matter, yet sure it is Evident, that *Mr Cotton* himselfe makes some of *Moses* Lawes, which he calls *Judiciall*, to be but ceremoniall and typical.

Peace. Me thinks *Mr Cotton* should never grant that, who layes so much waight upon *Moses* practices, and the morall and the perpetuall ground of them.

Truth. Well take for an Instance this very case of putting to Death, *Idolaters* and false *Prophets*, he grants this in this very "Chapter to be typical in "the State of the *Jewes*; for *Israell* (sayth he) "being the *Church* of *God*, and in Covenant with "God, their Example will onely extend to the like "Execution of all the false *Prophets* in the *Church* "of *God*.

Peace. Such a Candle lighted up in the *Conscience* and *Judgement* and *Confession* of *Mr Cotton*, may (if the *Father* of *Lights* so please,) light up many *Candles* more, to *Mr Cottons* owne and the eyes of others.

Truth. Yea if the *Father* of *Lights* so please,

Mr Cotton will looke back and see, that if the *Example* of *Israel* extend no further than to the *Church* of *God*, then those *Lawes* of *Moses* concerning *Religion*, cannot but be *typicall* and *ceremoniall*; for, what is *morall* and *perpetuall*, none can deny to concerne all Men in all *Nations*, where no *Church* or *House* of *God* was ever erected.

2. *Peace*. If Mr Cotton say it extends but to the *Church* of *God*, what *Church* of *God* can Mr Cotton meane, but a *particular* *Congregation* (for he professeth against *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, &c.) And yet how can he meane a *particular* *Church*, since he grants the *Church* of *Christ* armed with no other *weapons* than *spirituall*, like unto the *Head* and *King* thereof *Christ* *Jesus*?

The first
three hun-
dred years
after
Christ.

3. *Truth*. If Mr Cotton will grant the *Church* of *Christ* to have been extant upon the Earth during the first *three hundred yeares* of her *fiery tryalls*, he must grant that then the *Church* of *Christ* was furnished by *Christ* *Jesus* with no other *weapons* but *spirituall*, for all the *Civill powers* of the World seemed to be against them. [267] All which time

The Prim-
itive
Church
the purest,
and yet
without a
Civill
Sword.

by Mr Cottons *Doctrin*e, the *Church* of *Christ* his heavenly *Garden* must needs be over-growne with *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, false *Prophets*, for want of a *Civill Sword*, &c. Or if they were not (as sure it is, the *Spouse* and *Garden* of *Christ* was never fairer since): As Mr Cotton grants the *Example* *typicall*, and extending onely to the *Church* of *God*, so must he then also grant these false *Prophets* and *Idolaters* to be put to Death by the *Churches* power, which is onely *spirituall*, and *Israels* *materiall* *Sword* will

then appeare to be a *type* of the two-edged *sword* of *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel*.

Peace. It is true (sayth Master Cotton) what the Discusser sayth, that *Christ Jesus* gave no *Ordinance*, *Precept* or *President* in the *Gospel* for killing men for *Religion*, and no more (sayth he) for the *breach* of *Civill Justice*: *Civill Magistrates* therefore must either walke without *Rule*, or fetch their *Rules* of *Righteousnesse* from *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who hath expounded him in the *Old Testament*.

Christ no
Author of
Civill vio-
lence for
Religion.

Truth. If Mr Cotton please more awfully to observe & weigh the minde of *Christ Jesus* his *New Testament* in this point, he will not onely heare himselfe subscribing to *Cæsars Right* in *Civill matters*, but also by his servant *Peter* establishing all other formes of *Civill Government*, which the *peoples* or *Nations* of the *World* shall invent or create for their *civill being*, *Common-weale* or *wellfare*. Yea he may remember that *Christ Jesus* by his Servant *Paul* commandeth the *Magistrate*, to punish *Murther*, *Theft*, *Adulterie*, &c. for he expresly nameth these *Civill Transgressions* together with the *civill Sword* the *Avenger* of them, *Rom.* 13. [4.]

Peace. I cannot well conceive what Mr Cotton meanes by saying, that *Moses* and the *Prophets* expounded *Christ Jesus* in the *Old Testament*.

Truth. Nor I: They did speake or *prophecie* of *Christ*, they did *type* or *figure* him to come, with his *sufferings* and *Glory*, but (as *John* sayth) *Grace* and *Truth* came by *Jesus Christ*, that is, the fullfilling, opening, and *expounding* came by *Jesus Christ*.

Peace. Hence indeed I remember that *Christ*

Jesus (Luc. 24. [27.]) expounded to his *Disciples*, out of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, the things written of him. But more particularly touching *Moses*: [268] *Macarius* did well (sayth Mr *Cotton*) in putting *Hereticks* to Death, from the *Example* of *Moses* putting *Idolaters* to Death, *Exod* 32. [26–28.] and the *Idolater* to Death, *Levit.* 24. [23.]

The Levites killing 3000. *Exod* 32. typicall.

Truth. These *Instances* (by Mr *Cottons* Confession) extend no further then the *Church* of *God*, and then I desire my abovesaid *Answer* may be uprightly weighed. And I adde the former *Instance* of putting Death the three thousand *Israelites* about the *Goulden Calfe* by the hand of the *Levites*, may most lively seeme to typifie, the zealous *Execution* of *spirituall Justice* in (the *Israel* of *God*) the *Church* of *Christ*, by the true *Ministers* of *Christ Jesus*, the true *Antitype* of that zealous *Tribe* of *Levi*.

Phineas his *Act.*

Peace. Concerning *Phineas*, whereas it was said that the slaying of the *Israelitish Prince* and Daughter of *Midian*, was not for *spirituall* but for *corporall filthinesse*, Master *Cotton* answereth and urgeth the *Israelites* eating of their *Sacrifices*, and joyning to *Baal-peor*: Also that *single Fornication* was no *capital crime*.

Truth. It is most true, the people committed both *spirituall* and *corporall Filthines* (as very often they goe together) but the *Justice* of *God* reckoned with these two sinners, for and in the midst of their *corporall Filthines*, which although it were not *capital* in *Israell*, yet the committing of it with so high an hand of *presumption* (and *small finnes* com-

mitted *presumptuously* in *Israel* were Death) was enough to make it worthy of so sharpe and sudden a *Destruction*.

Peace. Concerning *Phineas* his act *Mr Cotton* acknowledgeth that it is no *president* for *Ministers* of the *Gospel* so to act, but withall sayth it is *præsidentiall* for *Magistrates*.

Truth. *Phineas* his Act (whether of ordinarie or extraordinary *Justice*) how can it be *præsidentiall* to the *Civill Magistrate* in a *particular Church*, where the *weapons* are onely *spirituall*? And *Mr Cotton* grants these *Examples* extend no further than the *Church*: Such as maintaine a *Nationall Church* (which *Mr Cotton* doth not) hath some colour to urge this *Example* for a *president*: for in a *Civill State*, *Civill Officers*, *civill Lawes*, *civill Weapons*, *civill punishments* and rewards are proper, as are also (and onely) *Spirituall Officers*, *spirituall Lawes*, *spirituall punishments* and Rewards in a *spirituall State*.
The spirituall & Civill State
 vastly different in their frame,
 Lawes, Officers, &c.

269] *Peace.* Concerning *Eliab*, *Mr Cotton* excepteth against the number eight hundred and fiftie, as too many by halfe.

Truth. It is true, the number of *Baals Prophets* *Eliab* and were foure hundred and fiftie (*false Prophets* enough to one poore true) but yet *Eliab* numbers *Jezabells* foure hundred trencher *Chaplins* with them; for, sayth he, Now therefore send and gather unto me all *Israel* unto Mount *Carmel*, and the *Prophets* of *Baal* foure hundred and fiftie, and the *Prophets* of the Grove foure hundred, which eate at *Jezabells* Table.
the Baal-ites.

Peace. But how ever (sayth Mr Cotton) here was no *type* nor *Figure* for *Actions* of *morall Justice*, (though sometimes *extraordinary*) yet they are never *figurative*, but with such as turne all the *Scripture* into an *Allegorie*.

The types
and figures
of the
old Testa-
ment.

Truth. To make the *shadowes* of the *old Testament* and the *Substance* or *Body* of the *New*, all one, is but to confound and mingle *Heaven* and *Earth* together, for the *state* of the *Law* was *ceremoniall* and *figurative*, having a *worldly Tabernacle* with *vanishing* and *beggarly Rudiments*: And I believe it might not onely be said, that *Abrahams* lying with his hand-maid *Hagar*, was an *Allegorie*, but that the whole *Church* of *Israell*, *Roote* and *Branch*, from first to last included *figurative* and *Allegoricall Kernells*, were the *Husks* and *Shells* disclosed with more humbly diligent and *spirituall teeth* and *fingers*.

Peace. I cannot but assent unto you, that to render the *Old Testament Allegoricall* in an humble sobrietie, your *Instance* with many more give sufficient warrant.

Truth. Yet I adde (in answer to Mr Cottons charge of turning all *Scripture* into an *Allegorie*) that to deny the *Historie* of either *Old* or *New Testament*, or to render the *New Testament* (which expounds and fulfills the ancient figures) *Allegoricalls* are both *absurd* and *impious*.

Peace. But how (sayth Mr Cotton) can an *Act* of *morall righteousness* be *figurative*?

Righteous-
nes two
fold.

Truth. There is a *Fallacie* in this tearme [*morall Righteousnesse*] for Mr Cotton himselfe hath acknowledged a *Righteousnesse* two-fold; A *Spirituall Right-*

eousnesse of the Church, and a *civill* of the Common-^{The state of Israel typicall.}
weale: Mr Cotton also acknowledgeth *Israel* to be
a *Typicall* people, their land a *typicall Land*, their
Ministry and *Worship* *typicall*! How can Mr Cot-
ton then deny, but [270] that the *weapons* of this
people, their *punishments* and *rewards*, &c. (so far as
concerned this their mixed *figurative* and *typicall*
state) were *figurative* and *ceremoniall* also? And so
not parts of *morall civill Righteousnesse*, or common
to all other Nations and peoples in the World.

Peace. I cannot readily assent to Mr Cotton that
morall Actions of *Civill Righteousnesse* could not be
figurative with this *ceremoniall, typicall, and figura-*
tive people; for their *warre* it selfe (which if law-
full, is an *Act* of *civill morall Righteousnesse*) Paul
seemes to make *figurative* of the *spirituall Warres*
of the *Christian Israel* and *Church* of God.

Truth. Yea and it is easie to observe that not^{Not only}
onely their *spirituall Worship*, &c. not onely *Acts*^{morall but}
of *morall* and *civill Righteousnesse* in *peace* and^{naturall}
warre, &c. but even their very *naturall Actions* and^{Actions}
Excrements (in *warres* against their *Enemies*) were^{of the}
figurative and *typicall*, full of *heavenly* and *spirituall*
Instruction, which the *unbelieving Jewes* then saw
not, but the *believing* saw, as they saw *Christ Jesus*
in the *Sacrifices*, and all their *observations* leading to
the blessed Son of God, the *Messiah*, the *Anointed*,
or *Christ* to come, and his *Eternall Kingdome*.^{Israelites typicall.}

Peace. Mr Cotton in the next place takes offence
that the *Fact* of *Elijah* should be called *miraculous*,
and askes if it be a *miracle* for *Elijah* with the aide
of so many thousand *Israelites* to put to Death
four hundred and fiftie men.?

Whether
Elijahs
 procuring
 the slaugh-
 ter of the
Baalites
 was Typi-
 icall or
 Morall.

Truth. Mr *Cotton* mistakes the word, for the word is not *fact* but *passage*, which compriseth not onely the *slaughter* of these their *Priests*, but the whole *matter* and *busines*, as the putting of the *Warship* of the true *God*, to the *Tryall* of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the descending of *Fire* from *Heaven*, the devouring of the *Sacrifice*, and licking up of so much *water*, and upon this so great a *number* of their *Priests* (the *Fathers*, *Shepheards*, and *Gods* of the people) so thunder-smitten as from *Heaven*, with so sudden and dreadfull a *slaughter*, what can these be but an *extraordinary inspiration* in the *Prophet*, a *supernaturall descent* and *operation* of *Fire*, yea and an *extraordinary* and wonderfull *change* in the heart of the *People*? And I doubt not but Mr *Cotton* doth sometimes give an *heavenly* and *spirituall signification*, to all these *figurative* and *miraculous Mysteries*.

Peace. But I wonder at the next words; Though *Christ* [271] (sayth he) gave no such *Commissions* to *Ministers* of the *Gospel* to put *false Prophets* to *Death*, as *Elijah* did, yet the *Act* of *Dutie* was an *ordinary dutie* of *morall Righteousnesse*, belonging to such as bear the *Sword*. Anon againe he writes; This *Example* will not extend to the *Idolaters* of the *World*.

“First, Because many thousand thousand of them
 “are exempt from the *civill Magistracie* of *Chris-*
 “*tians*.

“Secondly, They were never in *Covenant* with *God*,
 “to whom onely the *Law* of *Moses* concerning the
 “*punishment* of *Idolaters* extended.

“Thirdly, Though the *Israelites* were *Idolaters*, yet
 “*Elijah* spared them, because of their *simplicitie* and
 “*Ignorance*.

Truth. I answer, first, if *Christ Jesus* gave no
 such *Commission* (as is confessed) then woe to all
 those *Popish* and *Protestant Priests*, who have (by
theft, or *flatterie*, or other evill meanes) got *Com-*
missions from the *Civill powers* of the *World*, where-
 by (to maintaine their own *honours*, and *profits* of
Bishopricks and *Benefices*, &c.) they smite with the
fiſt and *ſword*, of *wickednes*: or under a *pretence* of
holy Orders in themselves, put over the *drudgery* of
Execution to their enslaved *Seculars*!

Secondly, If these need no *Commission*, because
 to put to Death the *false Prophets* and *Idolaters*, is
 an *Act* of *morall Righteousnesse*, how agrees that
Position and these three together,

First, onely *Christian Magistrates* (said Mr *Cot-*
ton) must act in these cases.

Secondly, They must act against such onely
 as are *Church-members*.

Thirdly, They must not act against such *Church-*
members as commit *Idolatrie* out of *simplicitie* or
Ignorance.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, if it passe your *capacitie* to
 reconcile these in point of *Truth*, it must needs
 passe mine to see how such *Doctrines* can stand with
 any *civill peace* or *order* in the world.

Truth. To affirme such *Actions* to be ordinarie
 duties of *morall Righteousnesse*, belonging to such as
 beare the *Sword*, and yet not to be practiced but by
 such *Magistrates* as are most rarely found in the

No Com-
 mission
 from
Christ for
 corporall
 punish-
 ment in
 religious
 matters.

Strange
 and mon-
 strous du-
 ties of Mo-
 rall Right-
 eousnesse.

World, and on such a *people* in such an *Order* as is most rare in the *Nations* of the *World*, is to me all one, as to call all *Fathers* and *Masters* in the *World* to such *ordinarie Duties* as belong to every *Father* and *Master* of a *Familie*: Or to call [272] *Masters* and *Commanders* of *Ships* to such *ordinarie duties* as belong to all *Masters* of *Ships* in the *World*: Or *Captaines* and *Commanders* in *Warre* to such *ordinarie Duties* as belong to all *Captaines* and *Commanders* in *World*, and then at last to tell them: It is true, the *Duties* are *ordinary* and *common*, to all *Fathers*, *Masters*, *Commanders*, *Captaines*, but those *Duties* are to be performed onely by such *Fathers*, *Masters*, *Captaines* and *Commanders*, and in such *Families*, *Ships*, and *Armies* as are not *ordinarie* to be found in the *World*.

Gods children are wonders and monsters accounted.

Peace. I see not but the *Similitude* doth fully reach, for indeed although such a *people* so and so in *Covenant* with *God*, according to *Mr Cotton*, were true *visible Churches* according to *Christs Institution*, and so consequently their *Magistrates* truly *Christian*, yet compare such *Magistrates* with the rest of the *Magistrates* of the *World*, who as lawfully beare the *Sword* as *Themselves*, and compare such a *people* so and so in *Church-Covenant*, with the rest of the *people* and *Nations* of the *World*, and we shall not finde them *ordinary* and *common*, but rather as six fingers, *wonders* and *monsters* to all other parts of the *World*, yea even to the very *Popish* and *Protestant* parts of the *World* also.

But to end this Chapter; The other fact of *Elijah* in slaying the *Captaines* with their fifties, *Mr*

Cotton acknowledgeth not to be alledged by any other *Authour* in this *Controversie*, but onely by the *Discusser*, to make himselfe work in such *Cobweb-Evasions*.

Truth. M^r *Cotton* forgetteth for *Elijah* his *Act* *Elijah* his flaying the Captaines and their fifties. (from *Luc.* 9. [54.]) hath been mentioned by others, and answered too by Master *Cotton* in this present Booke and *Controversie*. And for the *Cob-webs*, let the poore *Witnes* of *Christ* be esteemed as *Spiders*, and their *Testimonie* and *Witnes* but as *Cob-webs*, yet let them not be discouraged, but lay hould (like *Solomons Spider*) with the hand of *spirituall Diligence*, and let all such their *heavenly Cob-webs* be in *Kings Pallaces*. And let them know their *Cob-webs* be of such a *strength*, that how ever the *cruell Beezome* of *persecution* may sweep them downe, out of this *World*, yet in point of *Truth* and true *Christian power* and *worth*, neither *Pope* nor *Prelate*, neither *Presbyterian*, nor *Independent persecutour*, nor *Baalzebub* himselfe (the *God of Flies*) shall ever be able to sweepe them downe, or breake through them. Wonderfull Spiders and Cobwebs. Prov. 30.

273] *Exam: of Chap. 74. and 75. replying to Chap. 77. and 78.*

Peace. **I**N Chap. 74. One passage cannot be past by, to wit, [God hath laid this charge upon *Magistrates* in the *Old Testament* to punish *Seducers*, and the *Lord Jesus*, never tooke off this *Charge* in the *New Testament*: *Who is this Discusser, that he* Touching Seducers, and their punishments.

should account Paul himself, or an Angel from Heaven accursed, that should leave this Charge upon Magistrates, which God laid on and Christ never tooke off?]

Truth. This is but a *Repetition* of what hath formerly been examined: unto which therefore I briefly say, It will never be found true, that *God* hath laid this charge upon all *Magistrates* in the *World*, as he did upon the *Magistrates* in *Israel*, to punish *Seducers*.

Christ Je-
sus abolish-
ed former
figures,
though he
name not
each of
them in
particular.
Secondly, *God* laying this charge upon the *Governours* and *Magistrates* in *Israel*, the *Church of God* (in the *type*) lays it still upon *Christ Jesus* and his *Governours spirituall* under him in his *spirituall Israel*, which *Kingdome* he administred, with *Lawes*, *Punishments* and *Weapons Spirituall*. All this *Mr Cotton* in his *Controversie* hath acknowledged.

Thirdly, When he saith, *Christ Jesus* never tooke off this Charge.

First, I answer, let that *Parable* which he mentioneth be the *Tryall* of it in the feare of *God*.

Secondly, *God* having now in these last times declared his will by his *Sonne*: Where hath his *blessed Sonne* spoken to us, to build no more *Temples*, to erect no more *Altars*, to offer no more *Sacrifices*? And yet these and the whole *frame* of that *typicall State* we justly *abrogate*, both from the words of *Christ* and his first *Messengers*, which are plaine and easie enough to such whose eyes it pleaseth *God* to open, although (in expresse *Tearmes*) *Christ Jesus* hath not given an expresse *Catalogue* of all such *particulars* to be abolished.

Peace. In the next passage Mr Cotton deeply chargeth the poore Discusser with *partialitie & falshood*; upon which *Grounds* he turnes off all the *Consequences*, which the Discusser observed to follow upon Mr Cottons *Conclusions*.

Truth. It is true, the *Authour* of the *Letter* expresseth *Libertie* [274] of *Conscience* to such as feare God indeed: Mr Cotton subscribes, but presently razeth out his *Subscription* in these words following, which he hath againe now reprinted, to wit, “But
“the Question is whether an *Heretick*, after once or
“twice *Admonition* (and so after *Conviction*) and any
“other *scandalous* and hainous *offendour*, may be
“tollerated, either in the *Church* without *Excom-*
“*munication*, or in the *Common-weale* without such
“*punishment*, as may preserve others from dangerous
“and damnable *Infection*.

Peace. Who sees not but this *bloudie Tenent* (I The Myf-
meane these words now recited) doth not onely re-
straine *Libertie* of *Conscience* to such as feare God ^{terrie of}
indeed, and speakes *fire* and *fagot* to all the *world* ^{Bloudy}
beside: But also (under the name of *Heretick* and ^{Tenent.}
Seducer) throwes into the *Furnace* (most commonly
and ordinarily) all such as feare God (*Christ Jesus*
and his *Messengers* and *Ministers* not excepted) who
have alwayes been and are accounted, the chiefeft
Hereticks, *Blasphemers*, *Deceivers* and *Seducers* in
this *World*?

Truth. I adde the *Consequences* therefore remaine ^{The blou-}
good, that either All the *Inhabitants* of the *World* ^{die con-}
must come into the *estate* of men *fearing God*: Or ^{sequences of}
else *dissemble Religion*, and fearing God, in *hypocrisie*: ^{the bloudy}
^{Tenent.}

Or else, be driven out of the World. Then also the *Civill State* must judge of the *Spirituell*, and of *Magistrates* fearing or not fearing God: The *People* must judge (I say) who feare *God indeed*, and are by them to be *permitted*, and who are the *Here-ticks*, and to be *punished*, which who may not see to be the driving of the *world* out of it selfe, and the bloudie routing up of all Societies of Men?

Peace. This charge of *partialitie* and *falsehood*, you have (Deare *Truth*) to my understanding shielded the poore Discusser from, Can you now helpe his *Forehead*, and his *Heart*, which M^r *Cotton* in the next passage chargeth with another *notorious* and *impudent falsehood*, in relating out of a printed booke an *Answer* of the *New English Ministers* to *Questions* sent unto them from their *Brethren* in *old*, which answer M^r *Cotton* saith he cannot finde.

The sad
Effects of
the blou-
die Tenent
on M^r *Cot-
tons* owne
Spirit.

Truth. So much *Gall* and *Vinegar* hath M^r *Cot-ton* powred forth in this whole passage from the first to the last of it, that no sober minded man fearing *God*, and knowing M^r *Cottons* [275] former temper of *Spirit*, but will confesse two things:

A lament-
able Cha-
racter of
the change
of M^r *Cot-
tons* Spirit.

First, that this *bloudie Tenent* of *persecution* hath infected and inflamed his very *naturall Temper* and former sweet peaceable disposition.

Secondly, his *Eye* (being thus *bloudshot*) is so weakened in its former (and otherwise excellent sight) that it now questions no *Difference* between the *Mountaines* and the *Molehills*, for at the *worst*, in *common probabilitie of Reason*, there can be but a mistake in the Discusser concerning this passage.

Peace. If the Discusser have no sparke of the

feare of God, yet if but *common civilitie* and *honestie*, or least respect of *common credit* among men, it were impossible for him to forge so grossely in *matters lately printed*, publike and obvious to every eye.

Truth. The truth is, whether there be different *Editions* or different *Copies* printed, let M^r Cotton and whom it concerns take care of it, for the Discusser is confidently resolved that if this passage (for the *substance* of it) be not *printed* and to be read in *print* of all men, in their *names*, he will then willingly beare and lye under the charge of a false *forehead* and *heart*, which M^r Cotton in such heate and anger imputes unto him.¹

Exam: of Chap. 76. replying to Chap. 79.

Peace. IN this short Chapter the Discusser is charged with *Ignorance* and *uncharitablenes*, for thinking amisse of the *Penmen* of the *Answer* to the *Questions*, to wit, that he should conceive that

¹ Cotton charges Williams with "notorious impudent falsehood in matter of fact" because he interpreted the answer to the thirty-first question as against allowing the Presbyterians "civill cohabitation" here. This answer is quoted in a note to the first reference to this matter in *The Bloody Tenent*, p. 114. *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii. 215. Robert Baillie made a similar charge with Williams, and perhaps took his impression from him. "In all New England no liberty of living for a Presbyterian. Whoever there, were they angels for life and doctrine, will essay to set up a different way from them, shall be sure of present banish-

ment." Quoted by Hallam, *Const. Hist. of Eng.* 359.

The movement of Child and others, called by M^r Palfrey a "cabal of Presbyterians," for more liberal treatment of dissenters, was of course known to Baillie. Gov. Winslow went on a mission to England in 1646, to defend the Massachusetts government. In his *Briefe Narration* he claims that Presbyterians as well as Anabaptists were allowed.—Young, *Chron. of Pilgrims*, 402. The story of the treatment of Presbyterians in Massachusetts, is told in Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, ii, 165-178.

the *passage* to *New England* should change the *Judgment* or *Consciences* of Men.

Truth. The Discusser professeth (and I know in truth) to bewaile his *Ignorance* and *uncharitablenes*, yet upon a second review of the words, it will be found there was not an *Imputation* of such a *conceit*, to those worthy *Authors*, or any man, but an *Item* unto all men, occasioned by the *Confidence* expressed, that they doubted not, but those godly brethren of *old England* should agree with them here in *New*, if they were here in *New England* together. This *Item* or *Caveat* will appeare to be [276] given, not by way of positive *Charge*, nor in the least derogating from the holy and blessed use of free and humble *Conference*, but to take off the *Edge* of such *Conference* of agreeing in *New England*, when the *Differences* of Gods people have been and are yet so great in *Old* and *New*, and so many *Conferences* and *Disputations* of *Truth* and *Peace* have not yet raised that blessed *Agreement* of which the *Answer* to the *Questions* would make no doubt.

Differen-
ces of
Gods own
children
in *Old* and
*New Eng-
land.*

Peace. Me thinkes there should be little hope of their coming to *New England* when the *New English Ministers* had got the *Advantage* of the higher ground, and *Carnall Sword* for their *Religion* to Friend, and had exprest their *Judgment* of their conceiving it not safe, that (if they should not agree,) their severall wayes of *Worshipping God*, should be permitted in one *Common-weale*.

Truth. Yea and I believe still the *Consequence* was truly gathered by the Discusser (how ever M^r *Cotton* hath so charged his *Forehead* and *Heart* for it)

to wit, that the *New English Ministers* could not (as their *Conscience* stood) advise the *Magistrates* of *New England* to permit that which their *Consciences* and *Judgments* taught them was not safe, &c.

Peace. These passages occasion me to remember a serious *Question* which many fearing *God* have made, to wit, Whether the promise of *Gods Spirit* blessing *Conferences*, be so comfortably to be Expected in *New England*, because of those many *publike finnes* which most of *Gods people* in *New England* lye under, and one especially, to wit, the framing a *Gospel* or *Christ* to themselves without a *croffe*, nor *professing* nor *practicing* that in *Old* (except of late in times of *Libertie*) which they professedly come over to enjoy with *Peace* and *Libertie* from any *croffe* of *Christ* in *New*.

Profession of Christ Jesus in New-England, not so like to be true as that (which was persecuted) in Old.

Truth. I know those thoughts have deeply possessed, not a few, considering also the *sinne* of the *Pattents*, wherein *Christian Kings* (so calld) are invested with Right by virtue of their *Christianitie*, to take and give away the *Lands* and *Countries* of other men; As also considering the *unchristian Oaths* swallowed downe, at their coming forth from *old Englana*, especially in superstitious *Land* his time and domineering.

The great sin of New-Englands former Pattents.

And I know these thoughts so deeply afflicted the Soule and [277] *Conscience* of the *Discusser* in the time of his Walking in the Way of *New Englands Worship*, that at last he came to a persuasion, that such finnes could not be *Expiated*, without returning againe into *England*: or a *publike* acknowledgement and Confession of the *Evill* of

The Authors tryalls about the Pattents of New-England.

so and so departing: To this purpose before his *Troubles* and *Banishment*, he drew up a Letter (not without the *Approbation* of some of the *Chiefe* of *New-England*, then tender also upon this point before *God*) directed unto the *King* himselfe, humbly acknowledging the *Evill* of that part of the *Patent* which respects the *Donation* of *Land*, &c.

This *Letter* and other *Endeavours* (tending to wash off *publike finnes*, to give warning to others, and above all, to *pacifie* and to give *Glory* unto *God*) it may be that *Councells* from *Flesh* and *Bloud* suppress, and *Worldly policie* at last prevailed: for this very cause (amongst others afterwards re-examined) to banish the *Discusser* from such their *Coasts* and *Territories*.¹

¹ The letter on the Patents above referred to, was probably the treatise which he had drawn up while at Plymouth, as he stated, "for the private satisfaction of the Governour of Plimouth." It was probably never printed, although Codrington in 1677, charging him with being against the King's Patent and authority, said, he "writeth a large Booke in Quarto against it." Letter in *New-England-Fire-brand Quenched*, second part: p. 246. This treatise was brought to the notice of the Governor and assistants of Massachusetts, Dec. 27, 1633, after Mr Williams had gone to Salem. "For this, taking advice with some of the most judicious ministers, (who much condemned Mr Williams's error and presumption) they gave order that he should be convented at the next court, to be censured, etc." He wrote to the Governor and council "very submissively," "with-all offering his book, or any part of it to be burnt." Jan. 24, 1634 "the gover-

nour and council met, to consider of Mr Williams's letter, etc., when with the advice of Mr Cotton and Mr Wilson and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book, (which, being written in very obscure and implicative phrases, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found the matters not to be so evill as at first they seemed. Thereupon they agreed, that upon his retractation, etc., or taking an oath of allegiance to the King, etc., it should be passed over." *Wintthrop*, i: 145, 147. Still Cotton declares that this was the first of two things "which (to my best observation and remembrance) caused the Sentence of his Banishment." *Answer* &c. 27. *Pub. Narr. Club*, ii, 44. It was not however contained among the final charges reported by Winthrop, as leading to his banishment, although Williams in the text admits that it was among the causes which led to it. *Wintthrop*, i. 193.

Peace. But from *Violence* to the Discusser, or any other, Mr *Cotton* (in the next passage) protests his *Innocencie*, and insinuates the Discusser to be no other then (a *Deuill*) an *Accuser* of the *Brethren*, for imputing to them any such *Evill*, &c.

Truth. He that reads how hard the *Heart* of holy *David* grew, in the sinne of *Whoredome* and *Murther*, untill the *Lord* awakened him, will lesse wonder, that *Spirituell Whoredome* and *murtherous violence*, may possesse the *Hearts* of *Gods Davids* and holiest *Servants* now, and that without blush, or shame, or least appearance of *Relenting*: Doth not all this whole *Traverse* of Mr *Cotton* maintaine a *persecution* even unto *Death*, of such whom the *Civill State* shall judge *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolators*, *Seducers*, &c.

Doth not this very Chapter expressely justifie *persecution* upon the *Subverters* of the *Christian Faith*, obstinate after *Conviction*? upon *Blasphemers*, *Idolators*, *Seducers*? And is Mr *Cotton* not informed, what successe his *Doctrine* hath had, that (if a *mercifull God* had not prevented) nor *Courting*, nor *Fining*, nor *Imprisoning*, nor *Whipping*, nor *Banishing* had been *punishment* sufficient, to men and women, for cause of *Conscience* in *New-England*, but even *Death* it selfe, (according to the *principles* of *persecution*) had been inflicted.

Peace. Mr *Cotton* will urge that *Gods* people will not be such *Hereticks*, &c.

278] *Truth.* I might urge Mr *Cottons* owne grant of such sinnes in *Gods* owne people, for which they may be justly *Excommunicated*; but I will rather

Gods children may be guilty of bloody persecution for the hiding of their spirituall uncleanness.

Gods mercy in stopping New-Englands persecution, by the mercy of old England, the mother to dissenting Consciences.

Holy
Cranmer
and Crom-
well joyn-
ing with
persecu-
tors of
Christ Je-
sus out of
great
weaknes in
H. 8. his
dayes.

produce an *Instance* in our Nation of *England*. None fearing *God* will easily deny the Eminent Godlines of *Cranmer* & *Cromwell* in King *Henry* the eight his dayes; At that very time when King *Henry* himselfe disputed in so famous an *Assembly* against the blessed *witnesse* of *Christ Jesus*, *John Lambert*! Finde we not also holy *Cranmer* disputing before the *King* and that *Stately Assembly*, against this poore *Servant of God*, for that horrible and monstrous *Idoll of Transubstantiation*?

Peace. Finde we not then also holy and zealous *Cromwell* (at the *Kings command*) reading that bloudie *Sentence of Death* against that blessed *Lambe* of *Christ Jesus*, who was thus worried to *Death*, not onely by the bloudie *Wolves* the *Bishops*, but even by those holy *Lambes* of *Christ*, *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* also!

The most
famous
passages of
Cromwell
& Lambert
in H. the
8. his
dayes.

Truth. This was that blessed *Lambert*, a true *Follower* of the *Lambe* of *God Christ Jesus*, who cryed out in the midst of the *Flames*, None but *Christ*, None but *Christ*: and well might he so cry: Not *Cranmer*, not *Cromwell*, who after so much *Light* in *Disputations*, yet persisted in their *Heresie* and *Idolatry*, and partaking with *violence* against this holy man, that he might well cry out, *None but Christ, None but Christ*.¹

¹ This was the dying exclamation of John Lambert, who was burned at Smithfield, in 1538. His condemnation was read to him by Cromwell, by command of the King, as Fox supposes, at

the crafty instigation of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. The disputations, &c., are given in Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 331-358.

Exam: of Chap. 77. replying to Chap. 80.

Peace. **A**S it is (*Deare Truth*) oftentimes in *Journies*, the *worst way* and *saddest weather* attends the *Journies End*: So here *Mr Cotton* (neere our close) chargeth upon the *Discusser* a threefold *wresting* of his words, and accordingly so much *false-dealing*.

Truth. It is sad on the *Discussers* part, if this be done by him, either by a *willfull* or a *negligent* hand.

Peace. Yea and it is sad on *Mr Cottons* part, if the *Charge* be not *reall* and *substantiall*.

Truth. *Mr Cotton* acknowledgeth his words to be these [*The Godly* will not persist in *Hereſie* or turbulent *Schiſme*, [279] when they are *convinced* in *Conſcience* of the *ſinfullneſſe* of their way] The first charge therefore against the *Discusser* is that he confoundeth *Admonition* with *Conviſtion*, for (*ſaith Mr Cotton*) *Admonition* ought not to be diſpenced untill the *offendour* be *convinced* in his own *Conſcience* of the *ſinfullneſſe* of his Way.

Truth. For answer hereunto the *Discusser* to my knowledge humbly appealeth to the *Searcher* of all *Hearts*, that he hath not *willingly* nor *wittingly* falſified *Mr Cottons* words in a *tearme* or *ſyllable*. And indeed whether he hath wronged him at all, or be not rather unjustly trampled under the feete of weake and *paſſionate charges*, the *Discusser* appealeth to *Mr Cottons* owne *Conſcience*, awaked (if *God* ſo pleaſe) out of this *bloudie Dreame*.

Peace. Yea but (*ſayth Mr Cotton*) *Admonition* is

Of Admo-
nition
and Con-
viction.

one thing, and *Conviction* in their owne *Conscience* is another; for though sayth he, *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced till after *Conviction*, yet it may fall out that the Church (through mistake) proceedeth to *Admonition* before the offendour be convinced in his own *Conscience* of the sinfullnesse of his Way.

Truth. Passing gently by the want of *Equitie* in Mr Cotton to the Discusser, in condemning him of *falsehood*, for taking *Admonition* for *Conviction*, when he makes it but a *mistake* in the Church to practice the one for, or before the other:

I answer, I know not that futable *Distinction* between *Admonition* and *Conviction*, as Mr Cotton carrieth it, saying, that how ever the Church may through mistake practice *Admonition* before *Conviction*, yet *Admonition* ought not to proceede, untill after *Conviction* in a mans owne *Conscience*, for finde we not the words *Reprooving*, *Rebuking*, *Admonishing*, *Exhorting* a brother, indifferently used both in the *Old* and *New Testament*? And doth not that very word ἐλεγεῖον (*Matth.* 18. *Reprove* him) imply *Conviction* as well as *Reproofe* or *Admonition*, for doth it not signifie *Convincingly* reprove him?

Convic-
tion two-
fold.

Peace. I have heard indeed, that *Conviction* is two-fold:

First, *Externall* and *legall* before men in *Civill* or *Spirituell* judicature.

Secondly, *Effectuall* and inward in the Court of a mans owne *Conscience* before God, which internall, alwayes followes not the *Externall*.

280] *Truth.* No, such *Externall Conviction* may be *legall* before men, but not in the sight of God, and

a mans owne *Conscience*, as we see in the case of *Naboth*, who was legally convict of *Blasphemy*, when acquitted by *God* and his owne *Conscience*: As also in those *Consciences* (of which *Paul* speakes) feared with hot irons, which *Consciences* (notwithstanding the abundance of *Light* from heaven convincing, yet) are not brought from believing *Lyes*.

Peace. Yea, but it seems by Mr Cottons words, that the *Church*, that is (according to his way) the Major part of the *Church* must judge that the *Hereticke* is convinced in his own *Conscience* of the sinfullnesse of his way before she proceedeth to *Admonition*. Of Conviction of Hereticks.

Truth. For my part I cannot reconcile these three *Propositions*, comprized by Mr Cotton in these few lines.

First, the *Godly* will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when they are convinced in *Conscience* of the sinfullnesse thereof.

Secondly, The *Church* is to judge of the *Conviction* of such a *Godly* mans *Conscience*.

Thirdly, Although such a *Godly* man be convinced of the sinfullnesse of his way, yea although he will not persist in *Heresie* or turbulent *Schisme*, when he is thus convinced in *Conscience* of the sinfulness thereof, yet then is the *Church* to proceede to *Admonition*. For thus he sayth, *Admonition* ought not to be dispenced till after *Conviction*. Conviction sufficient, externall by the word, and efficient internall by Gods Spirit.

Peace. If Mr Cotton spake of the first *Conviction*, to wit, the *Externall*, I could subscribe, but now speaking of that *internall* in a mans owne *Conscience*, I see it pleaseth *God*, most holy and onely

wife to permit the best and and wisest of his Servants, to intrap, intangle, and bewilder themselves, that they may learne to confesse him onely and infinitely wise, and be more humble in themselves, as *fools* and *lyars*, and lesse bitter in their Judgements and Censures on the poore *Underlings* and *Outcasts*.

Christ Jesus (accounted) the greatest Heretick, Blasphemer, Seducer, and Deceiver that ever was in this world.

Truth. O that Mr Cotton who grants the *Godly* may fall into such fowle finnes of *Heresie* and *Schisme*, may also be godly jealous over himselve and others fearing *God* in *old* or *New England*, that, also possibly they may fall, into the very sinne of *persecuting* the Sonne of *God* himselve, especially since it is the [281] *Lot* of *Christ Jesus* (beyond all compare) both in *Himselfe* and his *Followers*, to be accounted the greatest *Heretick*, *Blasphemer*, *Seducer* and *Deceiver*.

Peace. To the second and third Charge Mr Cotton complains of false dealing, in that the Discusser should render his *words*, as if he charged such to be *obstinate persons*, that yeelded not to once or twice *Admonition*, and that for every *Errour*, when he speakes onely of persisting in *Heresie*, or turbulent *Schisme*.

Truth. For answer, let Mr Cottons *Conclusions* in the beginning of this Booke be remembred. Wherein he maintaines that a *Man* of *Erroneous* and blinde *Conscience* in *Fundamentall* and *weighty points*, and persisting in the *Errour* of his way, is not persecuted for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*. Whence it followes that the *Civill Courts* of the *World* must judge: whether the *matter* be *fundamentall* and *waighthy*:

whether the partie have been rightly once and twice *admonished*: and whether he persist in the *Errour* of his *Way*: that is, whether he be *obstinate* after such *Admonition*, and must then be *persecuted*, though (as the *Conclusion* wofully concludeth) not for cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Peace. Yea but the Discusser (sayth Mr Cotton) dealeth falsly, in carrying my words, as if I had said, that *Godly persons* in whatsoever *Errour* they hould, if they yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition*, they must needs be *obstinate*: whereas (he saith) he speakes not of every *Errour*, but of persisting in *Hereſie* and *turbulent Schisme*.

Truth. The Discusser did not ſo ſay, or ſo carry it as Mr Cotton inſinuates, but this he ſaith, that even in the place of *Righteouſneſſe* and *Judgement* (as *Salomon* ſaith) *Iniquitie*, and ſuch *Iniquitie* (in all *civill Courts* of the *World*, and in all *Ages* of the *World*) uſually hath been found, that as in multiplying glaſſes a *Flea* is made an *Elephant*, &c. So the *poore witneſſes* of *Chriſt* have been *proclaimed* and *persecuted* for *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. not onely for houlding the *Popes Tranſubſtanti-ation*, *Auricular Confeſſion*, *Purgatorie*, and thoſe waightier points of the *Beaſts worſhip*: but reading a piece of a *Leafe of Scripture* or any *good Booke* is *Hereſie*: Eating a piece of *Fleſh* in *Lent*, yea the ſlight breaches of the ſmalleſt *Traditions* of the [282] *Elders* and *State Worſhips*, accounted *Hereſie*, *Blasphemie*, &c.

Peace. Hence it was I think, that the *Naturaliſt* could tell us in the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Lyon*,

that the *Fox* ran not away in vaine upon the *Proclamation* of the departure of all *horned Beasts*, as knowing that if the *bloudie persecutors* of the *World* shall say, the *plainest Ears* are *bornes* (that is, the *smallest Errours*, yea the *plainest Truths* are *Heresies*) it is in vaine for any *Innocent* to plead they are but *Eares*, &c.

The barbarous
usage of
John Hus
in the
Councell
at *Con-*
stance.

Truth. Yea hence it was that in that famous, or rather most infamous *Councell* of *Constance*, the blessed *Servant* and *witnes* of *Christ Jesus*, *John Hus*, was as it were stobd to Death (before his burning) with tearmes of *Heresie*, *Heretick*, *Herefiarck*, yea though he held as the *Pope* and the *Councell* held, even in those points for which they condemned him, because (beside their hatred for his *Holines*, witnessing against their *Filthines*) themselves would say from his *writings*, that he did hold so and so against their *Popish Tenents*, which he he himselfe profest he never did.¹

Peace. In the next place (*Deare Truth*) are two Passages related by the Discusser from *New England*. to which M^r *Cotton* gives no credit.

2. He sayth, If such words were spoken, they might be spoken upon such *waights* as might hold *waight*, &c.

¹ "He himself would never allow even to the last, that he had departed from the orthodox standards of the Church,—the Scriptures, and the Fathers. In fact, with the exception of the views of Jacobel in regard to the communion of the cup, there was scarce a doctrine which he held, upon which he

could not have found many members of the Council to agree with him. Many of the propositions attributed to him by the Council he publicly disavowed, and others he explained in such a manner that they could not properly be regarded heretical." Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, ii: 74-75.

Truth. For the Stories and the Discuffers mistakes (willing *mistakes*, as Mr *Cotton* seemes to insinuate) I know the Discusser humbly desires like a true *Traveller* to his heavenly *Countrey*, to heare of, and see and acknowledge, and forsake every *false path* and *step* (by the helpe of *Christ*) that the poorest *childe* though but a *naked Pagan* shall hint him of: But why should the *Stories* seeme incredible that suite so woefully fit with the *Common Tenents*?

Peace. It may be Mr *Cotton* will not believe it, nor approve it: But there are not two, but ten witnesses, to testifie such *Stories*, were it seasonable to relate and inlarge such *particulars*.

Truth. Let Mr *Cotton* then please to understand (to passe by particular names of the former *Stories*, which are ready to be declared to any *charitable* and *loving Enquirie*) that his *bloudie Tenent* is a bitter *Roote* of many *bitter branches*, not onely bitter [283] to *spirituall tast*s, but even to the tast of *Civilitie* and *Humanitie* itselſe. But since the names of persons are so desired, I shall relate (not out of any personall disrespect to Mr *Streete* and the *people* of *Cobannet*, alias *Taunton*, my loving friends) what many testifie, that the said (reputed) *Minister* Mr *Streete*, publikely and earnestly perswaded his *Church-members* to give *Land* to none but such, as might be fit for *Church-members*: yea not to receive such *English* into the *Towne*, or if in the *Towne*, yet not to *Land*, that if they lived in the *Towne* or place, yet they might be knowne to be but as *Gib-*

The bloudie Tenent
destroying
civilitie
and
humane
Societies
out of the
World.

*eonites, bewers of wood, and drawers of water for the service of them that were of the Church.*¹

Peace. I know what *troublesome Effects* followed in the same place, and what *Breaches of Civill and humane Societie?* What *Departures* of divers, and *Barres* to the *comming* of others, to the *spoile* and *hindrance* of a most likely and growing *Plantation*.

But to proceede (*Deare Truth*) you cannot more faithfully and carefully labour to discharge the Discusser of *falsehoods*, then Mr *Cotton* endeavours to lay them on: For to the former three, behold in the next passage foure more.

“For, first the Discusser is charged to report Mr *Cotton* as expressing Confidence in this cause, which Mr *Cotton* sayth he expressed not.

“Secondly, He reports Mr *Cotton* to say, that he (to wit, Mr *Cotton*) had removed the *grounds* of this *Errour*, whereas Mr *Cotton* (saith he) said not so, but that he had spoken so much for that *End*.

“Thirdly, He foisteth in the name of *great Errour*, which though it be so, yet Mr *Cotton* did not so *stile* it.

“Fourthly, That Mr *Cotton* should conclude, that

¹ Nicholas Street was installed Teacher at Taunton, together with William Hooke as Pastor. “What day that was, is asked in vain” says Mr. Savage; *Gen. Hist. of N. E.* iv: 222. It was probably in 1637. Hooke went to New Haven seven years after, at which time Street succeeded him as Pastor. In 1659 he also went to New Haven, as Mr Hookes successor, and died there April 22, 1674. Emery, *Ministry of Taunton*, i: 156. Baylies *Memoirs of Plymouth Col.* i: 290-295. It is possible that the

division in the church which Leckford relates had some connection with the facts asserted above. “Cohannet, alias Taunton, is in Plymouth Patent. There is a church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the church, the rest excluded. Master Hooke Pastor, Master Streate Teacher.” *Plain Dealing*, 40. Baylies thinks it not improbable that Richard Williams, one of the first and leading settlers of Taunton was a relative, and perhaps brother of Roger. *New Plymouth*, i: 272, 284.

“to be a great *Errour*, that *persons* are not to be
 “*persecuted* for *cause* of *Conscience*, when he states
 “the *Question* so, that none ought to be *persecuted* at
 “all for *cause* of *Conscience*, but for sinning against
 “their *Conscience*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, he that hath a minde to
 beate a *Dog*, will soone finde a cudgell, &c. If Mr
Cotton had not esteemed the Discusser as a *Dog*, and
 had not had as great a minde as a *Dog* to use him,
 he would never have so catcht at every *line* and *word*,
 to finde out (such) the Discussers *Lyes* and *Falsboods*.
 [284] For, first, it is apparant that the Discusser
 here undertooke not to repeate Mr *Cottons* words,
 but upon such and such words of Mr *Cottons* (com-
 pared with all former *Agitations*) to collect accord-
 ing to his *understanding* such a *Conclusion*.

Peace. But whether he hath rightly and without
 breach of *Truth* or *Love* so and so collected, let it
 be (briefly) in the feare of God *examined*.

Truth. First then, hath not Mr *Cotton* through
 all this discourse, exprest a *Confidence* (some have
 called it *imperious* and *insulting*) against the poore
Hereticks, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*? And doe not
 these words [for avoyding the grounds of your *Er-
 rour*] import so much?

Secondly, Doth not Mr *Cottons* words imply that
 in his *opinion* such a *Tenent* is an *Errour*, and that
 by speaking so much against it, he hath removed
 it, whatever his *opponent* thinkes to the contrary?

Thirdly, Why may not the Discusser or any man
 say, that Mr *Cotton* counts that a great *Errour*,
 which Mr *Cotton* endeavours so to represent to all
 men?

Peace. But the fourth (sayth M^r Cotton) is an evident *falsehood* in the Discusser to say, that M^r Cotton should conclude this to be the great *Errour*, that *persons* are not to be *persecuted* for *cause* of *Conscience*.

Truth. The Father of Lights hath of late been graciously pleased to open the *eyes* of not a few of his *servants* to see that M^r Cottons *Distinction* [of not *persecuting* a man for his *Conscience*, but for *sinning against* his *Conscience*] is but a *Figleafe* to hide the *nakednes* of that *bloudie Tenent*, for the *Civill Court* must then judge when a man *sinnes* against his *Conscience*, or els he must take it from the *Cleargie* upon trust, that the poore reputed *Heretick* doth so *finne*.

Peace. M^r Cotton adds that it is *Aggravation* of *finne* to *hould* or *practice Evill* out of *Conscience*.

The persecutour of
Turks,
Pagans,
Jewes, or
Antichrist-
ians, is in
a greater
errour
then any
of them.

Truth. True, but I also aske, Doth not that *persecutour* that hunts or *persecuteth* a *Turke*, a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, an *Antichristian* (under pretence that this *Pagan*, this *Turke*, this *Jew*, this *Antichristian* sins against his owne *Conscience*,) doth not this *persecutour*, I say, *hould* a greater *Errour*, then any of the *four*e, because he hardens such *Consciences* in their *Errours* by such his [285] *persecution*, and that also to the overthrowing of the *civill* and *humane Societie* of the *Nations* of the *World*, in point of *civill peace*?

Peace. Well you may (deare *Truth*) enjoy your owne holy and *peaceable Thoughts*, but M^r Cotton ends this Chapter with hope that the reputed *bloudie Tenent*, appears not *whited* in the *bloud* of the

Lambe, and tends to save *Christs sheepe* from devouring, to defend *Christs truth*, and to maintaine and preserve peace in *Church* and *Common-weale*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, that which hath in all Ages powred out the *precious bloud* of the *Sonne of God*, in the *bloud* of his poore *sheepe*, shall never be found whited (as Mr *Cotton* insinuates) in the *bloud* of this most heavenly *Shepherd*: That which hath maintained the *workes* of *Darknes* 1600 yeares under the *bloudie Romane Emperours*, and more *bloudie Romane Popes*, hath never tended to destroy, but build and fortifie such *bellish workes*. That which all Experience (since *Christs* time) hath shewen to be the great *Fire-brand* or *Incendiarie* of the *Nations*, hath powred out so many *Rivers* of *bloud* about *Religion*, and that amongst the (so called) *Christian Nations*. That *Tenent*, I say, will never be found a *preserver*, but a *bloudie destroyer* both of *Spirituell* and *civill peace*.

Exam: of Chap. 78. replying to Chap. 81.

Peace. **W**E are now (Deare *Truth*) through the *mercie* of the *Father of mercies*, arrived, at the last Chapter of this *Sorrowfull Agitation*: Mr *Cotton* finds nothing in this worth the while to speake to; yet thinkes he it good to finde time to blame the *Discusser* for selfe-*Applauses*, vaine-glorious *Triumph*, and *confident perswasion*, which before he had noted Mr *Cotton* for.

Truth. That which was noted in Mr Cotton was not meerly a *perswasion* or *confidence*, but indeed an *imperious* and *insulting confidence*, over the *poore* and *oppressed*, and an adding of *Vinegar* to the *Gall* of the *Sonne of God*, *persecuted* in his *poore Saints* and *Members*.

286] *Peace.* But may there not seeme to be too in the *Discusser*, too great a *confidence* of the *converting* and turning of the *bloudie Storme* of *Warres* about *Conscience*, into *mercifull calmes* of *peace*, and of the *returne* of *Christs dove*, with *Olive branches* of *civill peace*?

Freedom
o Con-
science
hath ever
been a
Pe ce-ma-
ker in all
Natiōs
where it
hath ap-
peared.

Truth. Then let thousands and ten thousands, *French*, *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, *Transylvanians*, *Bohemians*, *Netherlanders*, and others, and now at last (through Gods gracious smiling upon this holy *Truth* of his) I say, many thousand *English* men set to their *seale* and *witnes*, to wit, that *Freedom* to the *Consciences* of men, (from all other but *spirituall opposition*) hath stuck many *Millions* of *Browes* and *Houfès* with *Olive branches*, that were before beblubbered and overwhelmed with tears and blood.

And
especially
at this
houre in
England.

Peace. I cannot but confidently see and say, that doubtles, had not the *prudent* and *zealous care* of *Englands Parliament* and *Armie* subscribed to this blessed means of *peace*, restored to *Lands* and *Counties* embroyled in *bloudie civill Warres* about *Religion*, doubtles, the *streame* of *Warre* which hath run so long with *blood* between the *Prelates* and the *Puritans* (so calld) had run as fresh and furious in all devouring *flames* between the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*.

Truth. Oh blessed be the *God of peace*, who hath more pitie upon the *unpeaceable Sonnes of Men*, then they have on *Themselves*.

Peace. M^r *Cotton* in the next place addeth, that one passage he may not let passe, because the name of *Christ* is interested in it, and dishonoured by it. to wit, [*Christ* delighteth not in the *bloud* of men, but shed his own *bloud* for his *bloudiest enemies* :] M^r *Cotton* answers; it is true that *Christ* delighteth not in the *bloud* of men, while they gainsay and *bloudily persecute* him and his, out of *Ignorance*: but he delights in the *bloud* of such, who after the *acknowledgement* of his *Truth*, doe tread the *bloud* of his *Covenant* under-foote, and *wittingly* and *willingly* reject him from raigning over them: The contrary whereof he sayth Proclaimes the *Gospel* to [be] the *seede of the Serpent*: *Sows pillowes* under all *ellbowes*, makes the *Heart* of the *Righteous sad*, strengthens the hand of the *wicked*, and proclaimes *peace* to *Jezabell*, and her *whoredomes* and *witchcrafts*, and concludes with *prayer* [287] against such a bewitching of the *Whores Cup*, where, by open *profession* she is rejected, but let in by the *back-doore* of *Toleration*.

Truth. I perceive (*Sweet Peace*) that in the winding up of this *Discourse* M^r *Cotton* winds up, resolveth and reduceth his former pleaded for *persecuting* of *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Idolaters*, *Seducers*, into the persecuting onely of *Apostates*, who after the acknowledging of the *Truth*, doe tread the *bloud* of *Christs Covenant* under foote, &c. To which I answer; If so then the discerning & judg-

How
Christ de-
lights in
bloud.

Of perse-
cuting
Apostates.

ing between such as gainfay *Chrift* and *blaspheme* him out of *Ignorance*, (such as M^r *Cotton* makes the *Jewes*, who put him to Death) and such as *willingly* and *wittingly* reject him: I say the judging of this must then rest at the *Barre* of the *Civill Courts* and *Judicatures* of the *World*, which necessarily implies a supposition of *power* of *Judging* in all the *Nations* of the *World*, and so consequently in *Naturall* men contrary to the *Scriptures*, which conclude all *Mankinde* (while in their *naturall estate*,) incapable of the things of Gods Spirit.

Peace. Yea and also (to my understanding) it implies, a *submitting* and *subjecting* of the *Crowne* and *Sceptre* and *affaires* of *Chrift Jesus*, to the *Civill* and *humane* *Crownes* and *Scepters* and *Tribunalls* of the *Nations* of this *World*, and that in *spirituall* and *heavenly* things, the proper *affaires* of his owne *Spirituall Kingdome*, in which, the wisest of this world are ignorant, and extreemly opposite.

Truth. For this, you know M^r *Cotton* hath a broken *Refuge*, to wit, [the *Nations* of the *World*, & *Naturall* men must not judge untill they be better informed] In which, what a wonderfull and monstrous suspension doth he put upon the *affaires* of *Chrift Jesus* all the world over, and leaves the *matters* of *Chrift Jesus* in worse case, and more poorely provided for by *Chrift Jesus*, then the *matters* and *affaires* of any *King* or *Kingdome* in the *World*, beyond compare and *Imagination*.

A monstrous suspension or hanging up of Magistrates.

Peace. Yet, me-thinks those *Scriptures* quoted by M^r *Cotton* *Luc.* 17. [19: 27.] Those mine *Enemies*, &c. and *Revel.* 16. [4-7.] *Bloudie vengeance* upon *Antichristian Emissaries*, are very considerable.

Truth. Doubtles all *Scripture* seriously alledged ^{Allegations of} by the most *ignorant* and *unworthy* (how much ^{Scriptures} more from so *learned* and *conscientious*) ought seri- ^{ought seri-} ously and awfully to be pondered in [288] the holy ^{ously to be} presence of *God*: The *Warrants* and *Authorities* of ^{made and} *civill powers* (though but pretended) are not without ^{answered.} due respect to be examined, although rejected (in the end) as insufficient, &c. But consider in the *Examination* of those *Scriptures*: Is it credible that all that resist *Christ Jesus*, his *Kingdome* and *Govern-* ^{Millions} *ment*, are *Apostates* and *Antichristian Emissaries*, ^{of Turks,} against whom he powres out that *Violl*? Have they ^{Jewes and} first acknowledged the *Covenant* of *Jesus*, and ^{Antichrist-} then trod the *precious bloud* of that *Higb Covenant* ^{ians are far} under feete? ^{from the} ^{due} ^{charge of} ^{Apostacie.}

Peace. The *East* is not so farre from the *West*, as those *Scriptures* from such a *Conclusion*.

Truth. Yea how many hundreth thousands of *Jewes* and *Turkes* and *Antichristians* perish *temporally* and *eternally*, and that for refusing *Christ Jesus* to be *King*, and for shedding his *bloud* in his *servants*, who can never be brought under this guilt of *Apostacie*, after they have once acknowledged the truth of *Christs Government* and *Kingdome*.

Peace. Me-thinks to understand the *Scriptures* in Mr *Cottons sence*, were a wonderfull penning up and *straightning* the holy *Scripture*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, as soon may we *immure* the *glorious Sun* in a *darke dungeon*, as confine those bright *Scriptures* in the dark *Cells* of *Apostacie*: but I further observe, that *Christ Jesus* not only praid and dyed for his *Enemies*, who bloudily per-

secuted him and his out of *Ignorance*, but gave this reason against bodily Death to be inflicted on any for his cause and sake, *Luc. 9. [56.]* The *Son of Man* is not come to *destroy Mens lives*: and I might returne the *Question* to Mr *Cotton*, not unfitly, Are not these the words of *Him* that delighteth not in the *bloud* of his *bloudiest enemies* and *Gainfayers*?

Peace. It will be said, What *slaughters*, what drinking of *Bloud* is that which *Christ Jesus* in these *Scriptures* intendeth?

Truth. I answer, although the *Sword of Christs Kingdome*, that sharpe *Sword* with two edges is a *Spirituell Sword*, and is carried in his *Mouth*, yet all power in *Heaven* and *Earth* being given into his hands by his *Father*, he *ruleth* and *over-ruleth* in a way of *power* and *providence*, all the *powers* of the *World*.

The myf-
terie of
the red
horfe of
War.

There is therefore a great *Sword* given to him that rideth upon the *white Horfe*, (*Revel. 6. [2.]*) by which, for the resisting [289] of him that rideth upon the *white Horfe*, (in the *gainfaying* and *persecuting* of *Christ* in his *Members*) *Christ Jesus* takes *peace* from the *Earth*, and suffers the *Turkes* to plague the *Antichristian World*, (*Papists* and carnall *Protestants*) to plague each other, and to fill *Cups* of *Bloud* each to other, while they contend and fight, first against *God*, and then one against another, for their severall false *Prophets* and *Religions*.

Peace. Me-thinkes then Mr *Cotton* might have spared to charge the *Discusser* with proclaiming of *peace* to *Jezabell*, &c.

Truth. There is a *Spirituell peace* in the matters of *Christs Kingdome* and *Worship*, and in the particular *Consciencs* and *Soules* of his *Servants*. There is a *civill peace* in the quiet enjoyment of each mans *proprietie*, in the *Combination* of *Townes*, *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, &c. But neither of these three will Mr Cotton prove the *Discusser* proclaimeth to such *Antichristians* or *enemies* of *Christ Jesus*, who *persecute* and *oppreffe* *Jew* or *Gentile* upon any *civill* or *spirituall pretence*.

'Tis true, the *Consciencs* and *Worships* of all men *peaceable* in their way, he affirmes ought not to be molested, and though not *approved* yet *permitted*, and (although no *spirituall*, yet) a *civill peace* proclaimed to their *outward man* while *peaceable* in *civill commerce*.

To *persecutours*, he not onely *proclaimes* Gods *Judgements* *spirituall* and *eternall*, but *temporall* also, and affirmeth that all *persecutours* of all *sorts* (and especially the bloudie *Whore* of *Rome* (who hath so long been *drunk* with the *bloud* of the *Saints*,) ought by the *Civill Sword* to be *restrained* and *punished* (as the *Destroyers* of *Mankinde* and all *civill* and *peaceable* being in the *World*,) according to the hight of their *cruell* and *murtherous Oppressions*.

Peace. But *Tolleration* of her (sayth Mr Cotton brings) her in at the back dore, and so we may come to drink deeply of the *Cup* of the *Lords wrath*, and be filled with the *Cup* of her *plagues*.

Truth. There are two opinions which have bewitched the *Nations* professing the name of *Christ*.

First, That a *Nationall Church* or *State*, is of *Christs appointing*.

Two
wofull
opinions
bewitch-
ing the
Nations.

290.] Secondly, That such a *Nationall Church* or *State* must be maintained pure by the *power* of the *Sword*. While Mr Cotton prayes against the *be-witching* of the *Whores cup*, O that the *Father of Lights* might graciously please to shew him the depth of her *witchcrafts*, and his owne most *wofull Delusions* in both these.

The 3
great
Causes of
the down-
fall of the
Church of
Rome.

In vaine doth Mr Cotton feare *partaking* of her *sinnes* and *plagues* by a *tollerating* (meerly) of her *Worship* in a *civill State*, while he forgets the *three great causes* of her *downfall* and *desolation*, and *partakes* of any of them (*Revel. 18.*) to wit, Her *worldly pompe* and *pleasure*: Her *spirituall Whoredomes* and *invented Worships*, and her *crueltie* and *bloudshed*, more especially against the *Consciences* of the *Saints* or *holy ones* of *Jesus*.

Exam: of Chap. 79. Touching the Modell of Church and Civill power, Examined in the first part of the bloudie Tenent, but not defended by Mr Cotton, or any, that the Discusser knowes of.

Touching
a New
English
Modell of
Church
and civill
power.

I Had hoped (*Deare Truth*) that we had gained a *peaceable* and *quiet harbor*, after all our tempestuous *Tossings* in the boysterous Seas of this *bloudie Tenent*, yet now behold a *sharpe* and *cutting winde* of Mr Cottons continuall *Censures*; For I was not (sayth Mr Cotton) of those that composed the *Modell*: and secondly, the *Ministers* say it was not sent by them to *Salem*, and therefore the *Discusser* is left of *God* to a double *falshood*,

Truth. Sweete Peace, till *sweete Death*, in and (often) for *Christ*, close up the Eyes of his *servants*, they must not expect to rest fully from their *Labours*, and expect their *workes* to follow them.

Once againe therefore let us heare the Discussers *plea* for himselfe against this blustering charge of double *falsehood*. Master Cottons owne words in the End of his *Answer* to the *Prisoners Letter*, are “these; I forbear *adding Reasons* to justifie the “*Truth*, because you may finde that done to your “hand in a Treatise sent to some of the Brethren, “late of *Salem*, who doubted as *you doe.¹

291.] *Truth.* To my knowledge it was reported ^{*Writing to one Mr Hall.} (according to this hint of Mr Cottons) that from the *Ministers* of the *Churches* (pretended) such a *Modell* composed by them was sent to *Salem*: Here-upon it was that the *Discusser* wrote on purpose to his worthy friend Mr *Sharpe* (*Elder* of the *Church* of *Salem*, (so called) for the sight of it, who accordingly sent it to him.

Peace. If this *Modell*, of such *consequence*, were so *composed* and so sent to *Salem*, if Mr Cotton directs others thither to *repaire* to make use of it, if he thus *approve* and *promote* it, I see not why it might not probably be *collected*, that Mr Cotton (not the last in such *great* and *publike matters*) was amongst, if not *chiefe* amongst the *composers* of it, and that he and they were not ignorant of the *conveyance* of it to *Salem*.²

¹ *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: 53.

² The *Model*, &c. seems to have originated in an Act of the General Court, passed March 4, 1634, in which they

“entreate of the elders and brethren of every church within this jurisdiction that they will consult and advise of one uniform order of discipline in the churches,

Deepe
Cenfures
for none
or inno-
cent mis-
takes.

Truth. But grant Mr Cotton should have been imagined to have been left out in this so great and *publike a service*, and that all the former *probabilities* faile: yet doubtles Mr Cotton will be cast at the barre of *Christian Love* and *Moderation*, for so bitter a charge upon the poore *Discusser* for so easie and harmles *Mistakes*.

Peace. Such fierce *flashes* might well issue from the bloudie *French Cardinall* against the poore *Hugenots*, from the *English bloudie Bishops* against the poore *Lollards*, from the bloudie *Popes* against the *Hereticks* and *Lutherans*: but a gentler *Breath* and *stile* might well befeeme a *Protestant* to a *Protestant*, engaged in *common principles* and *Testimonies* and *sufferings* of *Jesus* against those bloudie *Tyrants*.

But to the *Modell*, Mr Cotton seemes highly offended, that the *Discusser* should say, that the *Modell* awaketh *Moses* from his *unknowne Grave*, and denies *Jesus* yet to have seene the *Earth*. For, *Moses* his *Lawes* were of force (sayth he) to the *Israelites* in the Land of *Canaan*, when *Moses* was dead: and

agreeable to the Scriptures, and then to consider howe farr the Magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of that uniformity and peace of the churches." *Mass. Col. Rec.* 1: 142. Cotton is very explicit in his denial of any part in its composition, "What other Ministers of New England did in it, themselves know: But for Mr Cotton, I know, that he was none of them that composed it." *Bloody Tenent Washed*, 192. That "Mr Cotton should have been imagined to have been left out in this so great and publike a service" might well have seemed improbable.

He is equally explicit in his denial

that it was sent to Salem by its authors. "The Ministers themselves, that composed the Modell, doe deny it; Howsoever the Modell came to Salem, the Ministers say it was not sent by them." *B. T. Washed*, 192. Williams obtained a copy there from Samuel Sharpe, who came to Salem in 1629, and was a ruling elder in the Church. But Cotton does not actually say, as Williams implies, that he knew that it was sent there. He only says that it was "sent to some of the Brethren late of Salem."

In reference to Hall, Cotton's correspondent, see p. 54 *supra*, and *Pub. Narr. Club*, iii: v.

again, *Christ* came not to destroy the *Law* of *Moses*, nor the *Morall Law*, nor the *Judicialls*, such as are of *common Equitie*: Or els (sayth he) the *Conscience* of the *Civill Magistrate* could never doe any act of *civill Justice* out of *Faith*, because he should have no word of *God* to be the *Ground* of his *Act*, if the *Lawes* of *Judgement* were *abrogated*, and none extant in the *New*.

Truth. I answer; that speech of the *Discusser* Touching was neither [292] *unreasonable*, nor *untrue*, as Mr *Moses* his *Judicialls*. *Cotton* alledgeth: for grant *Christ* came not to destroy the *Morall Law* of the ten *Commands* (for the *Substance* of it, for all *materiall circumstances* therein Mr *Cotton* will not urge nor practice). Nor secondly, the *Judicialls* of *Moral Equitie*, that is, such as in deed concerne *Life* and *Manners*, according to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of the severall *Nations* and *Peoples* of the *World*.

Peace. Pardon me (*Deare Truth*) before you proceede, a word of *Explication*: your *Addition* [according to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of the *Peoples* and *Nations* of the *World*] will not be allowed of.

Truth. Without this I cannot allow of *Moses* his *Judicialls* to binde all *Nations* of the *World*, *Israel* in a then before, or since *Christ Jesus*: my reason is: kind a miraculous people. That people of *Israel* (to which those *Judiciall Lawes* and *punishments* were prescribed) was as I may say, a *miraculous people* or *Nation*, miraculously brought from one *Nation*, (the Land of *Ægypt*) into another the Land of *Canaan*) both types, a people furnished with *miraculous food* and *cloathing* during their fortie yeares Travell through the *Wil-*

dernes : The seaven *Nations* of *Canaan* wondrously and miraculously destroyed before them ; Their *Lawes* and *Institutions* miraculously delivered to them, &c.

Beside (not to wade deeper into this *Controversie*, as in the *Examination* of the *Modell* I have done) their Land was typically *holy*, and that people the *Church* of *God*, the onely *Church* of *God* in the *World*. And therefore being a people of such *miraculous considerations*, *Meanes* and *Obligations*, the breach even of *Morall Lawes* concerning *Life* and *Manners* and *civill Estate*, might be more transcendently *beinous* and *odious* in them, then in the other severall *Nations* and *peoples* of the *World*, many *thousands* and *millions* whereof never so much as heard of the Name of the *God* of *Israel*.

Peace. If men see cause to ordaine a *Court* of *Chancery*, and erect a *Mercy-seate* to moderate the *rigour* of *Lawes*, which cannot be justly executed, without the moderate and equall consideration of *persons* and other *circumstances* ! Me-thinks, the *Father* of *Mercies* (though he be *Justice* it selfe, yet) cannot be justly imagined to carrie all *Judiciall* or *Civill Lawes* or *Sentences*, by one *universall strictnes* through all the *Nations* of the *Earth*.

293] *Truth*. The *Lord Jesus* tells us of a more tollerable *Sentence*, (even for the *Sodomites* in the day of *Judgment*, then for the *Jewes*, who were the *people* and *Church* of *God* : and *Paul* his servant layes heavier load (*Rom.* 2. [21, 22]) upon such *Adulterers*, *Thieves*, as professe to be *Teachers* unto others, &c. of the contrary *Graces* and *Vertues*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, the *Scriptures* are full, and many Arguments might be drawne out this way, but please you to pitch upon an *Instance*, whereby we may the sooner finish this *Digression*.

Truth, Take that great case of the punishment of *Adulterie*, and I confidently affirme, that the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate*, may out of *Faith*, execute other punishments beside (stoning to) Death, which was the punishment of that sinne in *Israell*. For although (as Mr *Cotton* sayth) That was the Law of Judgement in the *Old Testament*, and there is no other particularly exprest in the *New*, yet the *Conscience* of the *Magistrate* may know,

First, That the carriage of the *Lord Jesus* about this case, when the *Question* was precisely put to him, was extraordinary and strange: For (although unto other *Questions*, even of the *Pharisees*, *Herodians*, *Sadduces*, the *High Priest*, and *Pilate*, he gave more or lesse, first or last, punctuall *Resolutions*, yet) here, he condemnes the sinne, yet he neither confirms nor disannulls this punishment, but leaves the *Question* (in all probabilitie) and leaves the severall *Nations* of the *World*, to their owne severall *Lawes* and *Agreements* (as is most probable) according to their severall *Natures*, *Dispositions* and *Constitutions*, and their common peace and welfare.

Secondly, The *Lord Jesus* (1 Pet. 2. [13.]) approveth of the severall humane *Ordinances* (or *Creatations*) which the severall peoples and *Nations* of the *World* shall agree upon their common peace and subsistence. Hence are the severall sorts of *Governments* in the *Nations* of the *World*, which are not framed after

Touching
punish-
ment of
Adulterie.

All Civill
Govern-
ment
Gods Or-
dinance.

Israels Patterne. And hence consequently, the *Lawes, Rewards and Punishments* of severall *Nations* vastly differ from those of *Israell*, which doubtles were unlawfull for *Gods* people to submit unto, except *Christ Jesus* had (at least in generall) approved such humane *Ordinances and Creations* of Men for their *common peace and wellfare*.

294] *Peace.* Me-thinks M^r *Cotton*, and such as literally stick to the *punishment* of *Adultery, Witchcraft, &c.* by *Death*, must either deny the severall *Governments* of the *World* to be lawfull (according to that of *Peter*) and that the *Nature and Constitutions* of *peoples and Nations*, are not to be respected, but all promiscuously forced to one *common Law*, or els they must see cause to moderate this their *Tenent*, which else proves as bloudie a *Tenent* in *civill affaires*, as *persecution* in *affaires religious*.

True Re-
publikes &
Common
weales
without
Kings.

Truth. Yea, of what wofull consequence must this prove to the state of *Holland* and *Low-Countries*, to the *State* of *Venice*, to the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, to our owne deare *State* of *England*, and others who have no *King*, as *Israells* last established *Government* had, especially no *King* immediately designed, as *Israells* (in the *Roote*) was? Yea what becomes of all *Christianitie*, and of *Christs Church* and *King-dome* in the *World* for ever, if it want the *Govern-ment* of a *King*: for sayth Bishop *Hall* (in his *Contemplation* on *Michaels Idolatrie*) in plaine and expresse words: No *King*, therefore no *Church*.¹

A wonder-
full saying
of Bishop
Hall.

¹ "It is no marvell if Levites wandred were their due: if these had been paid, for maintenance, while there was no none of the holy Tribe needed to shift King in Israel. The tithes and offerings his station. Even when Royall power

Peace. To end this passage, upon the former grounds, me-thinkes the *Conscience* of a *New English Magistrate* (being calld to be a *Magistrate* in *Old England*) may in *Faith* execute any other punishment (according to *Law* established) beside *Death*, upon *Adulterers*. And the *New English Colonies* may be exhorted to rectifie their wayes, and to moderate such their *Lawes*, which cannot possibly put on the face of *morall Equitie* from *Moses*, &c.

Truth. Your *Satisfaction* (Deare *Peace*) now præ-^{The State of Israel.} supposed I proceed and grant (with that *Limitation* forementioned) that *Christ Jesus* neither abrogated *Moses Moralls* nor *Judicialls*, yet who will deny that *Moses* established, (beside the two former) a third, to wit, *Lawes* meerly *figurative*, *typicall* and *ceremoniall*, proper and peculiar to that *Land* and people of *Israel*? Those *Lawes* necessarily wrapt up that *Nation* and people in a *mixt constitution*, of *Spirituell* and *Temporall*, *Religious* and *Civill*, so that their *Governours* of *Civill State* were *Governours* of the *Church*, and the very *Land* and *People* were by such *Governours* to be compelled to observe a *ceremoniall puritie* and *Holines*: But *Christ Jesus* erected another *Common-weale*, the *Common-* [295] *weale* of *Israel*, the *Christian Common-weale* or *Church*, to wit, not whole *Nations*, but in every *Nation* (where he pleaseth) his *Christian Congregation*, &c.

seconds the claime of the *Levite*, the injustice of men shortens his right. What should become of the *Levites*, if there were no *King*? And what of the

Church, if no *Levites*? No *King*, therefore no *Church*." *Contemplations*. Liber x. 940: ed. 1621.

Of *Magis-*
trates
being
nursing
Fathers,
&c.

Of *Magis-*
trates
Power in
Spiritualis

Of the
sins of
Magis-
trates.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I cannot count him a *peaceable* childe of mine, that rests not herewith satisfied: Mr. *Cottons* next *Exception* is against your excepting against a *Magistrates* Membership in a *Church-estate*, joyned with a *Head-ship* over it, to establish reformed, &c. (as being impossible that a *Magistrate* should sit Head and Supreme on the *spirituall Bench*, & yet stand as a delinquent at the *spirituall Barre* of *Christ Jesus*) Mr. *Cotton* answers, that in severall respects, a *Magistrate* may be a nursing *Father* and *Judge* in causes *Ecclesiastiall*, and yet be subject to *Christs* censure in the offensive *Government* of *himselfe* against the *Rules* of the *Gospel*. And where it might be said, that the *Church* is subject to the *Magistrate* in *civill causes*, and the *Magistrate* is subject to the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, Mr. *Cotton* answers, this easeth not the *Difficultie*, for suppose, sayth he, the *Magistrate* fall into *Murther*, *Adulterie*, &c. which are *civill Abuses*, shall the *Church* tolerate him herein? And he concludes, Let the like *Power* be granted to the *civill Magistrate* to deale faithfully with the *Church* in the notorious *Transgression* of the first *Table*, as is granted to the *Church* to deale with the *Magistrate* in the notorious *Transgression* of the second *Table*, and the *Controversie* is ended.

Truth. This answer and instance of Mr. *Cotton* carries a seeming *Beautie* with it, but bring it to the *Triall* of the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, and it will appeare to be, but a vanishing *Colour*. For, there is a vast *Difference*: The sins of each *Church-member*, whether against the first or second *Table*, are

proper to the *Cognizance* and *Judgement* of the *Church*, as the *sinne* of the *Incestuous* person was punished by *Christs Ordinances* (in the *Church* at *Corinth*) as well as the Abuse of the *Lords Supper*. But it is not so with the *civill Magistrate*, whose *Office* is *essentially civill*, one and the same, all the world over, among all *Nations* and *people*: For having no *spirituall power* (as the *Authours* of the *Modell* afterwards acknowledge) he cannot possibly act as a *Civill Magistrate* in *spirituall matters*, though as a *Church-member* he may in *Church-estate*, as also may the rest of the *Members* of that *spirituall Body*.

296] *Peace*. Me-thinks it is cleare as the *Light*,^{A case touching the Magistrates punishing the Sin of Church members.} that if that incestuous person in the *Church* of *Corinth*, had beene a *Magistrate* in the *Citie* of *Corinth*, the *Church* might justly have proceeded against him, because all sinne is directly opposite to the holy *Kingdome* of *Christ*. But in that abuse of the *Lords Supper* (which was meerly unchristian) neither that *Magistrate*, nor all the *Magistrates* of *Corinth*, or the *World* to helpe him, could justly punish the *Church*, because that *Supper* (in the *Institution* and *Spirituall* use of it) was not onely of the *Nature* of the *Suppers*, of the meates and drinks of the *Citie* of *Corinth*, but also of a *divine* and *spirituall Institution*, of a heavenly and *mysticall Nature* and *Observation*. But to Conclude this piece and the whole, Mr *Cotton* corrects himselfe for putting in his *Sickle* into the *Harvest* of his *Brethren*, unto whom he refers the defence of their *Modell*, and for himselfe ends with desires that *Christ Jesus* would blast that peace which he sayth

the *Examiner* proclaimeth to all the wayes of false *Religion*, to *Hereſie* in *Doctrin*e, &c.

Truth. If *Chriſt Jeſus* ſhall pleaſe (for the further *maniſeſtation* of his holy *Truth* and *Glory*) to permit thoſe *able* and *worthy* men, to proceed to fortifie and defend their *Modell*: I hope he will alſo pleaſe to aſſiſt the *Diſcuſſer*, or ſome other of his poore ſervants, to batter downe (with the *Spirit-uall Artillerie* of his *Word* and *Teſtament*) ſuch weake and looſe and *unchriſtian Fortifications*.

Peace. But with what a deepe and *unrighteous charge* doth Mr *Cotton* end againſt the poore *Diſcuſſer*, as a *Proclaimer* of *peace* to all the wayes of false *Religion*, to *Hereſie* in *Doctrin*e, &c.

Truth. Grant Mr *Cotton* (in many excellent *Truths* of *Jeſus*) a ſweet ſounding *Silver Trumpet*: Grant the *Diſcuſſer* as baſe a *Rams-borne* harſh and contemptible: Grant that (for the *peace* of the *Civill State*, the being of the *Nations*, and the *World*, the ſaſetie of the good *Wheate* the *Righteous*, and the calling home of the *Eleët* to *God*, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*!) the *Diſcuſſer* proclaimes a *civill being*, and *civill peace* to *Erroneous Conſciences*, not ſinning againſt humane and *civill Principles*: Yet what *Peace* hath this *Rams-borne* proclaimed (as Mr *Cotton* inſinuates) when throughout this whole Booke, from [297] firſt to laſt, the *Proclamation* ſoundeth out *open warre* againſt all false *Worſhippers*.

The dire-
full ſtate
of false
Worſhip-
pers.

Peace. I am a joyfull witnes of *warre* proclaimed from the *God* of *Truth*, from the *Sun* of *Righteouſneſſe*, from the *Spirit* of *Holines*, from the flames of *Fire*, thoſe mighty *Angels*, from all the *Saints* and

Witnesses of Iesus, from all his holy Truths and Ordinances. Warre to their Consciences, Preachings, Writings, Disputations, a warre present, a warre perpetuall, and (without Repentance) a warre eternall and everlasting.

Truth. Deare Peace, our goulden sand is out, we now must part with an holy Kisse of heavenly Peace and Love: Mr Cotton speakes and writes his Conscience: Yet the Father of Lights may please to shew him that what he highly esteemes as a Tenent washt white in the Lambes bloud, is yet more black and abominable, in the most pure and jealous eye of God.

Peace. The Blackmores Darknes differs not in the darke from the fayrest white.

Truth. Christ Iesus the Sun of Righteousnesse hath broke forth, and dayly, will, to a brighter and brighter Discoverie of this deformed Ethiopian: And for my selfe I must proclaime, before the most holy God, Angells and Men, that (what ever other white and heavenly Tenents Mr Cotton houlds) yet this is a fowle, a black, and a bloudie Tenent.

A Tenent of high Blasphemie against the God of Peace, the God of Order, who hath of one Bloud, made all Mankinde, to dwell upon the face of the Earth, now, all confounded and destroyed in their Civill Beings and Subsistences, by mutuall flames of warre from their severall respective Religions and Consciences.

A Tenent warring against the Prince of Peace,

Christ Jesus, denying his *Appearance* and *Comming* in the *Flesh*, to put an end to, and *abolish* the *shadows* of that *ceremoniall* and *typicall* Land of *Canaan*.

Luc. 9. A *Tenent* fighting against the sweete *end* of his *comming*, which was not to destroy mens *Lives*, for their *Religions*, but to save them, by the meeke and peaceable *Invitations* and *perswasions* of his peaceable *wisdomes Maidens*.

The Por- 298] A *Tenent* fowly charging his *Wisedome*, *Faith-*
 traiture of *fullnes* and *Love*, in so poorly providing such *Magis-*
 the bloudie *trates* and *Civill Powers* all the *World* over, as might
Tenent. effect so great a *charge* pretended to be committed to them.

A *Tenent* lamentably guilty of his most precious *bloud*, shed in the *bloud* of so many hundreth thousand of his poore *servants* by the *civill powers* of the *World*, pretending to suppress *Blasphemies*, *Hereshes*, *Idolatries*, *Superstition*, &c.

A *Tenent* fighting with the *Spirit* of *Love*, *Holiness*, and *Meeknes*, by kindling fiery *Spirits* of *false zeale* and *Furie*, when yet such *Spirits* know not of what *Spirit* they are.

A *Tenent* fighting with those mighty *Angels* who stand up for the peace of the *Saints*, against *Persia*, *Grecia*, &c. and so consequently, all other *Nations*,

who fighting for their severall *Religions*, and against the *Truth*, leave no *Roome* for such as feare and love the *Lord* on the *Earth*.

A *Tenent*, against which the blessed *Soules* under the *Altar* cry loud for *vengeance*, this *Tenent* having cut their *Throats*, torne out their *Hearts*, and powred forth their *Bloud* in all *Ages*, as the onely *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers* in the *World*.

A *Tenent* which no *Uncleannes*, no *Adulterie*, In-<sup>The Por-
traiture of
the bloudie</sup>cest, *Sodomie*, or *Beastialitie* can equall, this *ravishing* and forcing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) the very *Soules* ^{Tenent.} and *Consciences* of all the *Nations* and *Inhabitants* of the *World*.

A *Tenent* that puts out the very *eye* of all true *Faith*, which cannot but be as free and voluntarie as any *Virgin* in the *World*, in *refusing* or *embracing* any *spirituall offer* or *object*.

A *Tenent* loathsome and ugly (in the eyes of the *God* of *Heaven*, and serious sonnes of men) I say, loathsome with the palpable *filths* of *grosse dissimulation* and *hypocrisie*: Thousands of *Peoples* and whole *Nations*, compell'd by this *Tenent* to put on the fowle *vizard* of *Religious hypocrisie*, for feare of [299] *Lawes*, *losses* and *punishments*, and for the keeping and hoping for of *favour*, *libertie*, *wordly commoditie*, &c.

A *Tenent* wofully guiltie of hardning all false and *deluded Consciences* (of whatsoever *Seet*, *Faction*,

The Por-
traiture of
the bloody
Tenent. *Herese, or Idolatrie, though never so horrid and blasphemous) by cruelties and violences practised against them: all false Teachers and their Followers (ordinarily) contracting a Brawnie and steellie hardnesse from their sufferings for their Consciences.*

A *Tenent* that shuts and bars out the gracious *prophecies* and *promises* and *discoveries* of the most glorious *Sun* of *Righteousnes*, *Christ Jesus*, that burnes up the holy *Scriptures*, and forbids them (upon the point) to be read in *English*, or that any *tryall* or *search*, or (truly) free *disquisition* be made by them: when the most able, diligent and conscionable *Readers* must pluck forth their own *eyes*, and be forced to reade by the (which soever *præ-dominant*) *Cleargies Spectacles*.

A *Tenent* that *seales up* the spirituall *graves* of all men, *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, (and consequently stands guiltie of the *damnation* of all men) since no *Preachers*, nor *Trumpets* of *Christ* himselve may call them out, but such as the severall and respective *Nations* of the *World* themselves allow of.

The Por-
traiture of
the bloudie
Tenent. A *Tenent* that fights against the *common principles* of all *Civilitie*, and the very *civill being* and *combinations* of men in *Nations*, *Cities*, &c. by commixing (*explicitly* or *implicitly*) a *spirituall* and *civill State* together, and so confounding and overthrowing the *puritie* and *strength* of both.

A *Tenent* that kindles the devouring *flames* of

combustions and *warres* in most *Nations* of the *World*, and (if *God* were not infinitely gracious) had almost ruind the *English*, *French*, the *Scotch* and *Irish*, and many other *Nations*, *Germane*, *Polonian*, *Hungarian*, *Bohemian*, &c.

A *Tenent* that bowes downe the *backs* and *necks* of all *civill States* and *Magistrates*, *Kings* and *Emperours*, under the proud feete of that *man* and *monster* of *sinne* and *pride* the *Pope*, and all [300] *Popish* and proud *Cleargie-men* rendring such *Laicks* and *Seculars* (as they call them) but slavish *Executioners* (upon the point) of their most imperious *Synodicall Decrees* and *Sentences*.

A *Tenent* that renders the highest *civill Magistrates* and *Ministers* of *Justice* (the *Fathers* and *Gods* of their *Countries*) either odious or lamentably grievous unto the very best *Subjects* by either clapping or keeping on, the *iron yoakes* of cruellest *oppression*. No *yoake* or *bondage* comparably so grievous, as that upon the *Soules* necke of mens *Religion* and *Consciences*.

The Portraiture of the bloudie Tenent.

A *Tenent*, all besprinckled with the *bloudie murders*, *stobs*, *poysonings*, *pistollings*, *powder-plots*, &c. against many famous *Kings*, *Princes*, and *States*, either actually performed or attempted, in *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Low-Countries*, and other *Nations*.

A *Tenent* all *red* and *bloudie* with those most *barbarous* and *Tyger-like Massacres*, of so many thou-

land and ten thousands formerly in *France*, and other parts, and so lately and so horribly in *Ireland*: of which, what ever causes be assigned, this chiefly will be found the true, and while this continues (to wit, *violence against Conscience*) this *bloudie Issue*, sooner or later, must *breake forth* againe (except *God* wonderfully stop it) in *Ireland* and other places too.

The Portraiture of the *bloudie Tenent*. A *Tenent* that *stunts* the growth and *flourishing* of the most likely and hopefullest *Common-weales* and *Countries*, while *Consciences*, the *best*, and the *best* deserving *Subjects* are forced to flie (by enforced or voluntary *Banishment*) from their native *Countries*; The lamentable prooffe whereof *England* hath felt in the flight of so many worthy *English*, into the *Low Countries* and *New England*, and from *New England* into old againe and other forraigne parts.

A *Tenent* whose grosse partialitie denies the *Principles* of *common Justice*, while *Men* waigh out to the *Consciences* of all others, that which they judge not fit nor right to be waighed out to their owne: Since the *persecu ours Rule* is, to take and persecute all *Consciences*, onely, *himselſe* must not be touched.

301] A *Tenent* that is but *Machevilisme*, and makes a *Religion*, but a *cloake* or *stalking horse* to *policie* and *private Ends* of *Jeroboams Crowne*, and the *Priests Benefice*, &c.

A *Tenent* that *corrupts* and *spoiles* the very *Civill Honestie* and *Naturall Conscience* of a *Nation*. Since

Conscience to God violated, proves (without *Repentance*) ever after, a very *Fade*, a *Drug*, loose and *unconscionable* in all converse with men.

Lastly, a *Tenent* in *England* most unseasonable, as powring Oyle upon those *Flames* which the high *Wisdome* of the *Parliament*, (by easing the yokes on *Mens Consciences*) had begun to quench.

In the sad Consideration of all which (Deare Peace her *Peace*) let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge of the *washing* Repose and colour of this *Tenent*. For thee *sweete heavenly* and Tab-ernacle. *Guest*) goe lodge thee in the *breasts* of the *peaceable* and humble *Witnesses* of *Jesus*, that love the *Truth* in *peace*! Hide thee from the Worlds *Tumults* and *Combustions*, in the *breasts* of thy truly *noble children*, who profess and *endeavour* to breake the *irony* and insupportable *yoakes* upon the *Soules* and *Consciences* of any of the *sonnes* of Men.

Peace. Me-thinkes (Deare *Truth*) if any of the least of these deepe charges be found against this *Tenent*, you doe not wrong it when you stile it *bloudie*: But since, in the wofull prooffe of all *Ages* past, since *Nimrod* (the *Hunter* or *persecutour* before the *Lord*) these and more are lamentably evident and undeniable: it gives me wonder that so many and so excellent *eyes* of *Gods* servants should not espie so fowle a *monster*, especially considering the *universall opposition* this *Tenent* makes against *Gods Glory*, and the *Good* of all mankind.

Truth. There hath been many fowle *opinions*, with which the *old Serpent* hath infected and be-

The *Bloudie Tenent* of persecution compared.

witched the sonnes of men (touching *God, Christ, the Spirit, the Church*, against *Holines*, against *Peace*, against *civill Obedience*, against *chastitie*) in so much, that even *Sodomie* it selfe hath been a *Tenent* maintained in print by some of the very *pillars* of the *Church of Rome*: But this *Tenent* is so universally opposite to *God* and *man*, so pernicious and destructive to both (as hath been declared) that [302] like the *Powder-plot*, it threatens to blow up all *Religion*, all *civilitie*, all *humanitie*, yea the very *Being* of the *World*, and the *Nations* thereof at once.

Peace. He that is the *Father* of *Lies*, and a *murderer* from the beginning, he knowes this well, and this ugly *Blackmore* needs a *maske* or *vizard*.

The *maskes and vizards* of the *bloudie Tenent*.

Truth. Yea the *bloudines* and *inhumantie* of it is such, that not onely *Mr Cottons* more tender and holy *Breast*, but even the most bloudie *Bonnors* and *Gardiners* have been forced to arme themselves with the faire *shewes* and glorious *pretences*, of the *Glory* of *God*, and *zeale* for that *Glory*, the *Love* of his *Truth*, the *Gospel* of *Christ Jesus*, *love* and *pitie* to mens *soules*, the *peace* of the *Church*, *uniformitie*, *Order*, the *peace* of the *Common-weale*, the *Wisedome* of the *State*, the *Kings*, *Queenes* and *Parliaments* proceedings, the *odiousnesse* of *Seets*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, *Novelties*, *Seducers*, and their *Infections*: the *obstinacie* of *Hereticks*, after all *Meanes*, *Disputations*, *Examinations*, *Synods*, yea and after *Conviction* in the poore *Hereticks* owne *Conscience*: Add to these the flattery found of those glosing *Titles*, the *Godly Magistrate*, the *Christian Magistrate*, the *Nurcing Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*, *Christian Kings* and

Queenes. But all other *Kings* and *Magistrates* (even all the *Nations* of the *World* over, as M^r *Cotton* pleads) must suspend and hould their hands, and not meddle in *matters* of *Religion*, untill they be informed, &c.

Peace. The dreadfull righteous hand of *God*, the *Eternall* and avenging *God*, is pulling off these *masks* and *vizards*, that *thousands*, and the *World* may see this *bloudie Tenents Beautie*.

Truth. But see (my *heavenly Sister* and true *Truth & stranger* in this *Sea-like restles, raging World*) see *Peace,* here what *Fires* and *Swords* are come to part us! ^{their meet-}
Well; Our *meetings* in the *Heavens* shall not thus ^{ings fel-}
be interrupted, our *Kisses* thus *distracted*, and our *eyes* ^{dome and}
and *cheekes* thus *wet, unwiped*: For me, though *cen-*
sured, threatned, persecuted, I must professe, while
Heaven and *Earth* lasts, that no one *Tenent* that
either *London, England*, or the *World* doth harbour,
is so *hereticall, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous*
to the *corporall*, to the *spirituall*, to the *present*, to
the *Eternall Good* of all *Men*, as the *bloudie Tenent*
(how ever *wash't* and *whited*) I say, as is the *bloudie*
Tenent of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.



The Copie of a Letter of R.

Williams of Providence in New England,

to Major *Endicot*, Governour of the *Mas-*
sachusetts,¹ upon occasion of the late persecution
against M^r *Clarke* and *Obadiah Holmes*,
and others at *Boston* the chiefe Towne of
the *Massachusetts* in New England.

S I R,

*Matters
touching
the peace
of the
English
and *In-*
dians,
about
which the
said Gov-
ernour did
write to
R. W.²



Aving done with our transitorie Earth-
ly *Affaires (as touching the *English*
and the *Indians*) which in Compari-
son of heavenly and *Eternall* you will
say are but as dung and drosse, &c.
Let me now be humbly bold to remember that
Humanitie and *pietie*, which I and others have
formerly observed in you, and in that hopefull
Remembrance to crave your gentle audience with
patience and *mildnes*, with *ingenuitie*, *equanimitie*

¹ John Endicott was one of the six original patentees of Massachusetts. He arrived at Salem, Sept. 6, 1628. In the following year he was appointed Governor, and held the office until Winthrop's arrival in 1630. He was afterwards Deputy-Governor for four years, and was Governor for sixteen years. In 1645 he was put in command of the military force as "Sergeant-Major General," and hence probably received the title with which Williams here addresses him. He had passed the sentence upon Clarke and Holmes, being

Governor, at that time. *Ill Newes*, 4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* ii. 31-39,

² Gov. Endicott writes to John Winthrop, jr., "Salem the 15, 6, 51," that is August 15, 1651: "I have written Mr. Williams an answer to his letter you were pleased to bring mee, and I hope to satisfaccion as much as lyes in mee. And I heartilie desire you that you will labour with the Sachems of the Narragansetts, Nineroft and Mixam, till their complaints be heard and answered, &c."

4 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* vi: 153.

and *candour*, to him that ever truly and deeply loved you and yours, and as in the awfull presence of his holy *Eye*, whose dreadfull *hand* hath formed us to the praise of his *mercy* or *Justice* to all *Eternitie*.

Sir, I have often feared and said within my Soule, Have I so deeply *loved* and respected? Was I also so well *beloved*? Or was all *counterfeit*, and but gilded o'er with earthly Respects, Worldly ends, &c. Why am I silent? my Letters are not *Banished*! may be wellcome, may be seene and heard, and if neither, yet will back againe (together with my *prayers* and cries) into my *Bosome*.

Great love formerly between the said Governour Endicott, and R. W. before his Banishment.

Thus while I have sometimes mused and resolved! *Objections*, *Obstructions*, and a thousand hindrances (I feare from *Sathan* as *Paul* said) have prest in, held my hand, &c.

Sir, it hath pleased the Father of *Spirits* at this present to smite my heart in the very breaking up of your Letter: This **Deaths Head* tells that loving *Hand* that seald it, and mine that opens your *Letter*, that our *Eyes*, our *Hands*, our *Tongues*, [304] our *Braines* are flying hence to the hole or pit of *Rot-tennes*: Why should not therefore such our *Letters*, such our *Speeches*, such our *Actings* be, as may become our last *minutes*, our *Death-beds*, &c.

*The Seale where-with the Governours Letter to R. W. was sealed.¹

If so, how *meeke* and *humble*, how *plaine* and *serious*, how *faithfull* and *zealous*, and yet how tender and *loving* should the *Spirits* and *Speeches* be of dying and departing Men?

Sir, While something of this Nature I muse over

¹ Endicott's seal was a death's head and cross-bones, with the name of John Garrad in a circle round it. A facsimile

of it is given in 4 *Mss. Hist. Coll.* vi. Appendix ii.

your *Deaths head*, I meete (in the Entrance of your "Letter) with this passage [*Were I as free in my "spirit as formerly I have been to write unto you, you "should have received another manner of Salutation "then now with a good Conscience I can Expresse ; "However God knoweth who are his, and what he is "pleased to hide from sinfull man in this life, shall in "that great Day be manifested to All.*]

Persecu-
tours con-
clude no
conscience
in the
whole
world but
their own.

Sir, at the reading of this Line, (I cannot but hope I have your leave to tell you) The speech of that wise Woman of *Tekoah* unto *David* came fresh unto my Thoughts: Speakes not the *King* this Thing as one that is *Guiltie*? For will my honoured and beloved friend not know me for feare of being disowned by his *Conscience*? Shall the *Goodnes* and *Integritie* of his *Conscience* to *God* cause him to forget me? Doth he quiet his minde with this; [*God knoweth who are his? God hides from sinfull man, God will reveale before All?*] Oh how comes it then that I have heard so often, and heard so lately, and heard so much, that he that speakes so tenderly for his owne, hath yet so little respect, mercie or pitie to the like *consciencious* perswasions of other Men? Are all the *Thousands* of *millions* of *millions* of *Consciences*, at home and abroad, fuell onely for a *prison*, for a *whip*, for a *stake*, for a *Gallowes*? Are no *Consciences* to breathe the *Aire*, but such as suit and sample his? May not the *most High* be pleased to hide from his as well as from the eyes of his fellow-*Servants*, fellow-*mankinde*, fellow-*English*? And if *God* hide from his, from any, who can discover? Who can shut when he will open?

and who can open when he that hath the key of *David* will shut? All this and more (honored Sir) your words will warrant me to say, without any just offence or straining.

Object. But what makes this to *Heretickes, Blasphemers, Seducers*, to them that sin against their *Conscience* (as Mr Cotton [305] sayth) after *Conviction*? What makes this to stobbers of *Kings* and *Princes*, to blowers up of *Parliaments* out of *Conscience*?

First, I answer, He was a *Tyrant* that put an Innocent Man into a *Beares-skin*, and so caused him as a wild *Beast* to be baited to Death.

Secondly, I say this is the common cry of *Hun-* All persecutours render the most innocent most odious.
ters or *persecutours* [*Hereticks, Hereticks, Blasphemers, &c.*] and why, but for crossing the persecutours *Consciences*, (it may be but their superstitions, &c.) whether *Turkish, Popish, Protestant, &c.*

This is the Outcry of the *Pope* and *Prelates*, and of the *Scotch Presbyterians*, who would fire all the world, to be avenged on the *Seſtarian Heretickes*, *Cromwell* the second, a Refuge of the oppressed. the blasphemous *Heretickes*, the seducing *Heretickes*, &c. had it not pleased the God of Heaven who bounds the insolent Rage of the furious *Ocean*, to raise up a second *Cromwell* (like a mighty and mercifull *Wall* or *Bullwark*) to stay the Furie of the *Oppreſſour*, whether *Engliſh, Scottiſh, Popiſh, Presbyterian, Independent, &c.* This Rejoynder was sent to England long since, and hoped to have been published.

Laſtly, I have ſaid much and lately, and given particular Anſwers to all ſuch pleas, in my Second Reply or Anſwer to Mr Cottons waſhing of the *Bloudie Tenent* in the *Lambes bloud*, which it may be is not yet come to your ſight and Hand.

'Tis true, I have to say elsewhere about the *Causes* of my *Banishment*: as to the calling of *Naturall* Men to the exercise of those holy *Ordinances* of *Prayers*, *Oathes*, &c. As to the frequenting of *Parish Churches*, under the pretence of hearing *some Ministers*: As to the matter of the *Patent*, and King *James* his *Christianitie* and *Title* to these parts, and bestowing it on his Subjects by vertue of his being a *Christian King*, &c.

At present, let it not be offensive in your eyes, that I single out another, a fourth point, a cause of my *Banishment* also, wherein I greatly feare one or two sad evils, which hath befallen your *Soule* and *Conscience*.¹

The point is that of the *Civill Magistrates* dealing in matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*, as also of persecuting and hunting any for any matter meerly *Spirituall* and *Religious*.

The two Evills intimated are these; First, I feare you cannot after so much *Light*, and so much profession to the contrary (not onely to my selfe, and so often in private, but) before so many *Witnesse*s; I say, I feare you cannot say and [306] act so much, against so many severall *Consciences*, former and later, but with great *Checks*, great *Threatnings*, great *Blowes* and *Throwes* of inward *Conscience*.

¹ Mr Cottons Letter examined and answered, pp. 4, 5. *Pub. Narr. Club*, i: 40, 41. Cotton gives his version of the causes of Williams' banishment in his *Answer* 27-31. *Pub. Narr. Club*, ii, 44-52. He says, "It is evident the two latter causes which he giveth of his Banish-

ment," the second and fourth named above, "were no causes at all, as he expresseth them. There are many knowne to hold both these opinions, and yet they are tolerated not only to live in the Commonwealth, but also in the fellowship of the Churches."

Secondly, If you shall thanke *God*, that it is not so with you, but that you doe what *Conscience* bids you in *Gods* presence, upon *Gods* warrant, I must then be humbly faithfull to tell you, that I feare your underprizing of holy *Light*, hath put out the *Candle*, and the *Eye* of *Conscience* in these particulars, and that *Delusions*, strong *Delusions*, and that from *God* (by *Sathans* subtiltie) hath seafd upon your very *Soules* believe, because you priz'd not lov'd not the indangered persecuted Son of *God* in his despised *Truths* and *Servants*.

Sir, With Man (as the *Lord Jesus* said of the *Rich man*) I know it is impossible for the (otherwise piercing) *eye* of your understanding to see into these things, for it is *discoloured*, as in some *Diseases* and *Glasses*; It is impossible for your *Will* to be willing to see, for that's in a thousand chaines resolved (as once you spake *heroically* and *heavenly* in a better way) to spend your dearest *Heart bloud* in your way, &c. Yet with *God* all things are possible, and they that laughed the *Lord Jesus* to scorne when he said, the *Damsell* is not *dead* but *sleepeth*, were afterwards confounded, when they saw her raised by his heavenly voice.

His holy pleasure I know not, nor doe I know which way the *Glory* of his great Name will more appeare, either in finally suffering so great a *fall* and *ruine* of so strong a *pillar*, that *Flesh* may not *Glory*, but that his *strength* and *Glory* onely may be seene in *Weaknesse*. Or else in your holy *Rising* and *Reviving* from the *Bed* of so much spirituall filthines, and from so *bloudie* a *minde*, and *lip*, and *hand*,

Abuse of
light most
dangerous.

against *all withstanders* or *Disturbers* in it. That so the short *Remainder* of your *Candle* may hold out to the World, the *Riches* of his *Mercy*, at whose words the holiest of his Servants ought to tremble, and to work out their Salvation with feare and trembling: I say, I desire to say it, tremblingly and mournfully) I know not which way he will please to raise his *Glory*) onely I know my *Dutie*, my *Conscience*, my *Love*, all which enforce me to knock, to call to cry at the Gate of *Heaven*, and at *Yours*, and to present you with this loving, though lowd and faithfull noyse and sound of a [307] few Grounds of deeper Examination of both our *Soules* and *Consciences* uprightly and impartially at the holy and dreadfull *Tribunall* of Him that is appointed the *Judge* of all the *Living* and the *Dead*.

Be pleased then (honored Sir) to remember that that thing which we call *Conscience* is of such a Nature (especially in *English-men*) as once a *Pope* of *Rome* at the suffering of an *English-man* in *Rome*, himselfe observed) that although it be groundles, false, and deluded, yet it is not by any *Arguments* or *Torments* easily removed.

The power of Con-
science
though
Erroneous

I speake not of the streame of the multitude of all *Nations*, which have their *ebbings* and *flowings* in *Religion*, (as the longest *Sword*, and strongest *Arme* of *Flesh* carries it) But I speake of *Conscience*, a *perswasion* fixed in the minde and heart of a man, which enforceth him to judge (as *Paul* said of himselfe a *persecutour*) and to doe so and so, with respect to *God*, his worship, &c.

This *Conscience* is found in all mankinde, more

or lesse, in *Jewes, Turkes, Papists, Protestants, Pagans, &c.* And to this purpose let me freely without offence remember you (as I did Mr *Clarke* newly come up from his sufferings amongst you) I say, remember you of the same *Story* I did him, twas that of *William Hartly* in *Queene Elizabeth* her dayes, who receiving the Sentence of *hanging, drawing, &c.* spake confidently (as afterward he suffered) what tell you me of *hanging, &c.* If I had ten thousand millions of *lives*, I would spend them all for the *Faith* of *Rome, &c.*¹

Sir, I am far from glancing the least Countenance on the *Consciences* of *Papists*, yea or on some *Scotch* and *English Protestants* too, who turne up all *Rootes*, and lay all *levell* and in bloud, for exaltation of their own *way* and *Conscience*. All that I observe is, that *Boldnes* and *Confidence*, *Zeale* and *Resolution*, as it is commendable in a kinde when it seriously respects a *Dietie*, so also, the greatest *Confidence* hath sometimes need of the greatest *Search* and *Examination*.

I confesse, that for *Confidence* no *Romish Priest*, hath ever exceeded the holy *Martyrs* or *Witnesses* of *Jesus*: Witnes (amongst so many) that holy *English Woman*, who cryed out, that if every *haire* of her head were a *life* or man, they should burne

True &
false Wit-
nesses both
Confident.

¹ William Hartley was of St. John's College, Oxford, and a Roman Catholic Priest. When Campian, the Jesuit emissary, came to England in 1580, Hartley engaged in distributing one of his books. He was imprisoned, and being released in 1584, left the kingdom.

Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* i: 474. I find mention of his imprisonment in Strype, *Whitgift*, i: 268. The accounts given of Campian and his trial and execution contain no reference to him, and I have found no allusion to the fact named in the text.

[308] for the Name of the *Lord Jesus*: But Sir, your *Principles* and *Conscience* binde you, not to respect *Romish* or *English*, *Saints* or *Sinners*: *William Heartly*, and that *Woman*, with all their *lives*, you are bound by your *Conscience* to punish (and it may be) to hang or burne, if they transgresse against your *Conscience*, and that because (according to Mr *Cottons* monstrous *Distinction* (as some of his chiefe *Brethren* to my knowledge hath called it) not because they sinne in matters of *Conscience*, (which he denies the *Magistrate* to deale in) but because they sinne against their *Conscience*.

Secondly, It is so notoriously knowne, that the *Consciences* of the most holy men, zealous for *God* & his *Christ* to *Death* and *Admiration*, yea even in our owne Countrey, and in *Queen Maries* dayes especially, have been so grossly mislead by mistaken *Consciences* in matters concerning the *worship of God*, the comming out of the *Antichristian Babell*, and the *Rebuilding* of the spirituall *Jerusalem*, that I need but hint who were they that pend the *Common prayer*¹ (in its Time, as glorious an *Idoll*, and as much adored by *Godly persons*, as any *Invention* now extant) I say who they were that lived and dyed (five in the flames) zealous for their *Bishopricks*, yea and some too too zealous for their *Popish Ceremo-*

¹ The Book of Common Prayer was first put forth in English, May 4, 1549. There were thirteen compilers, of whom Cranmer and Ridley are the most famous. Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* ii: 134. Short, *Hist. of Ch. of Eng.* p. 279. "Of the first compilers, Dr. Whitgift gave this

character, that they were singular learned men, zealous in God's religion, blameless in life, and martyrs at their end. For either all, or the most part of them, had sealed this book with their blood." Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, i: 175.

nies, against the doubting *Consciences* of their Brethren: At which and more, we that now have risen in our *Fathers* stead, wonder and admire how such piercing eyes could be deceived, such *Watchmen* blinded and deluded. But

Thirdly, We shall not so much wonder when we lift up our trembling eyes to *Heaven*, and remember our selves (poore dust) that our *Thoughts* are not as the *Thoughts* of our *Maker*, that, that which in the eyes of man (as the *Lord Jesus* tells us, *Luc.* 16. [15.]) is of high and sweet esteeme, it stincks and is abomination with *God*: Hence such *Worships*, such *Churches*, such glorious *professions* & *practices* may be, as may ravish themselves and the beholders, when with the piercing eyes of the most High, they may look counterseit and ugly, and be found but (spiritually) *Whores* and *Abominations*.

Fourthly, Wise men use to inquire, what *Motives*, what *Occasions*, what *Snares*, what *Temptations* were there, which mooved, which drew, which allured, &c. This is the *Apologie* [309] which the five *Apologists* (Mr *Goodwin*, Mr *Nye*, &c.) made to the *Parliament*, to wit, That they were not tempted with the moulding of New *Common-wealths*, after which they might be mooved to frame their *Religion*, &c.¹

Surely Sir, the *Baits*, the *Temptations*, the *Snares*

¹ The five apologists, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Bridge presented *An Apologetical Narration* to Parliament in 1643. In 1644 Williams

published his *Queries of Highest Consideration*, proposed to these persons and to the Scotch Commissioners in the Westminster Assembly. *Pub. Narr. Club.* ii.

Sathans
policie in
proposing
Motives
and Baits
to wife
and excel-
lent Saints.

laid to catch you, were not few, nor *common*, nor laid to every foote. *Saul* pretended *zeale* to the Name of *God*, and love to *Israel* in persecuting the poore *Gibeonites* to death, but Honour me before the people, was the maine *Engine* that turned the *Wheeles* of all his *Actions* and *Devotions*. What set *Jeroboams* braines to consult and plot the *Invention* of a new *Religion*, *Worship*, *Priests*, &c. but *Honour*, & the feare of the losse of his gained *honour*? What moved *Jehu* to be false and halting with *God* after so much glorious *zeale* in the *Reformation*? Yea I had almost said, what mooved *David* to stob *Uriah* (the fire of *God*) with his pen, but the feare of dishonour in the *Discovery* of his sin, though doubtles there was some mixtures of the feare of his *Gods* displeasure and dishonour, also?

Sir, it is no small offer, the *choice* and *applause* and *Rule* over so many *Townes*, so many *holy*, of many *wise*, in such a *holy way* as you believe you are in: To say nothing of *strong drinkes* and *wines*, the *fat* and *sweet* of *this* and other *Lands*: These and others are snares which without abundant strength from *God* will catch and hould the strongest feete: Sir, I have knowne you strong, in repell- ing strong *Temptations*, but I cannot but feare and lament, that some of these and others have been too strong and potent for you.

Spirituell
Witch-
craft.

Fifthly, We not onely use to say proverbially, but the Spirit of *God* exprefsly tells us, that there is a *minde-bewitching*, a *bewitching* of the very *Con- sciences* and *spirits* of men. That as in *Witchcraft*, a *stronger* and *supernaturall power* layes hould upon

the powers of *Nature*, with a suppressing or elevating of those powers beneath or above themselves: So is it with the very *Spirits* and *Consciences* of the most *Intelligent* and *Conscientious*, when the *Father* of *Spirits* is pleased in his righteous displeasure and jealousy, so to suffer it to be with ours.

Sir, I from my Soule *honour* and *love* the persons of such, whom I, you, and themselves may see have been *Instrumentall* in your *bewitchin*. Why should it be thought inconsistent with [310] the holy wisdom of *God* to permit *wise* and *holy* and *learned* persons to *wander* themselves and *mislead* others; when the holy *Scripture* and *Experience* tells us of the dangerous *Councells* and *wayes* of as *wise* and *learned* and *holy* as now breath in either *Old* or *New English* aire?

Sir, I had thought to have named one or two, who may justly be suspected (though otherwise worthily beloved) but I have chose rather to present an hint, for thats enough to so *intelligent* a Breast, if but willing to make an *Impartiall Review* and *Examination* of Passages between the most *Highb* and your inmost *Soule* in secret.

Therefore sixthly, for a fixt ground of suspecting your *Soule* and *Spirit* and *Conscience* in this particular of *persecution*, which I now instance in, may you please, Sir, without offence to remember, that as it is in such as have exceeded in *Wine*, their *speech* will bewray them: So is it in *Spiritual Cupps* and *Intoxications*. Myfticall
Drunken-
neffe and
drunken
Language
of it.

The *Maker* and *Searcher* of our hearts knowes with what *Bitternes* I write, as with *Bitternes* of

The Language of
persecu-
tours.

Soule I have heard such *Language* as this to proceed from your selfe and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutours! [you will say, this is your *Conscience*: You will say, you are *persecuted*, and you are *persecuted* for your *Conscience*: No you are *Conventiclers*, *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*: You deserve to be *hanged*, rather then one shall be wanting to *hang* him I will hang him my selfe: I am resolved not to leave an *Heretick* in the *Countrey*; I had rather so many *Whores* and *Whoremongers* and *Thieves* came amongst us:] Oh Sir, you cannot forget what *Language* and *Dialect* this is, whether not the same unfavourie, and ungodly, blasphemous and *bloudie*, which the *Gardiners* and *Bonnors* both former and later used to all that bowed not to the *State* goulden *Image* of what *Conscience* soever they were. And indeed, Sir, if the most *High* be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy *Majestie* his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted *Confessions* and *Supplications*, you will then proclaime to all the *World*, that what profession soever you made of the *Lambe*, yet these *Expressions* could not proceed from the *Dragons* mouth.

A price
and a
Heart
blessed
compani-
ons.

Oh remember, and the most holy *Lord*, bring it to your Re- [311] *membrance*, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great *Glory* to his holy Name, great *Rejoycing* to so gracious a *Redeemer* (in whom you professe is all your *Healing* and *Salvation*) great *Rejoycing* to the holy *Spirit* of all true *Consolation*, whom yet so long you who have grieved and fadded, great *Rejoycing* to those blessed

Spirits (attending upon the *Lambe*, and all his, and terrible to his *persecutours*) great *Rejoycing* and *Instruction* to all that love, the true *Lord Jesus* (notwithstanding their wandrings among so many false *Christs*) mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the World where his Name is founded: Your *Tallents* are great, your *Fall* hath been so: Your *Eminencie* is great, the *Glory* of the most *Highb* in *Mercy* or *Justice* toward you will be great also.

Oh remember it is a dangerous Combat for the *potshbeards* of the Earth to fight with their dreadfull *Potter*: It is a dismall *Battle* for poore naked *feete* to kick against the *Pricks*; It is a dreadfull *voyce* from the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, *Endicot*, *Endicot*, why *huntest* thou *me*? why *imprisonest* thou *me*? why *finest*, why so bloudily *whippest*, why wouldest thou (did not I hould thy *bloudie* hands) *bang* and *burne* *me*? Yea Sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the *may be*, to the *venture* or *hazzard*, to the *possibilitie*: Is it possible (may you well say) that since I *hunt*, I *hunt* not the *life* of my *Saviour*, and the bloud of the *Lambe of God*: I have fought against many severall sorts of *Consciencs*, is it beyond all *possibilitie* and *hazard*, that I have not fought against *God*, that I have not persecuted *Jesus* in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any Man or Men to maintaine their *Christ* by their *Sword*, and to worship a true *Christ*! to fight against all *Consciencs* opposite to theirs, and not to fight against *God* in some of them, and to

The horrible & dangerous path which all persecutours and Hunters walk in.

The least
spark of
persecu-
tion tends
to blood,
and will
proceed,
except
God
mightily
stop it.

hunt after the precious life of the true *Lord Jesus Christ*. Oh remember whether your *Principles* and *Consciences* must in time and opportunitie force you. 'Tis but worldly *policie* and *compliance* with Men and Times (*Gods* mercy over-ruling) that houlds your hands from *murthering* of thousands and ten thousands were your *Power* and *Command* as great as once the bloudie *Roman Emperours* was.

The truth is (and your selfe and others have said it) by your [312] *Principles* such whom you count *Hereticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, to be put to *Death*; You cannot be faithfull to your *Principles* and *Consciences*, if you satisfie them with but *imprisonment*, *fining*, *whipping* and *banishing* the *Hereticks*, and by saying that *banishing* is a kinde of *Death*, as some chiefe with you (in my case formerly) have said it.

Sir, 'Tis like you knew or have heard of the man that said he would never *Conforme* publicly, although he did *subscribe* in private for his *Libertie* sake of *Preaching*: That, although he did *conforme* in *some* things, yet in *all* he never would: That although he did *himselſe* yeeld, yet he would not molest and *inforce* others: That although he yeelded, that *others* did molest them, yet *himselſe* would never *persecute*, and yet did all.

But oh poore dust and Ashes, like *stones* once rolling downe the *Alpes*, like the *Indian Canoes* or *English Boats* loose and adrift, where stop we untill infinite mercy stop us, especially when a false fire of *zeale* and *Conscience* drives us, (though against the most holy and eternall *himselſe*?)

Oh remember the black *Catalogues* it hath pleased

the most jealous and righteous *God* to make of his fierie *Judgements* and most dreadfull stoakes on Eminent and remarkeable *persecutours* even in this life. It hath been his way and course in all Countries, in *Germanie*, *France* and *England*, (especially) what ever their pretences have been against *Hereticks*, *Rebells*, *Schismaticks*, *Blasphemers*, *Seducers*, &c. How hath he left them to be their owne *Accusers*, *Judges*, *Executioners*, some by hanging, some by stobbing, some by drowning and poysoning themselves, some by running mad, and some by drinking in the very same *Cup* which they had filld to others?

Gods most
dreadful
Judge-
ments
against
persecu-
tours.

Some may say, such *persecutours* hunted *God* and *Christ*, but I, but we, &c. I answer, the *Lord Jesus Christ* foretold how wonderfully the wisest of the World, should be mistaken in the things of *Christ*, and a true visible *Christ Jesus*! When did we see thee *naked*, *hungry*, *thirsty*, *sicke*, *inprison* &c. How easie, how common, how dreadfull these *mistakes*?

Oh remember once againe (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray haire now on both our heads, is a *Boanerges*, a sonne of *Thunder*, and a warning piece [313] to prepare us, for the waighing of our last *Anchors*, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

Death is a
Boanerges.

'Twas mercy infinite, that stopt provoked *Justice* from blowing out our *Candles* in our *youths*, but now the *feeding Substance* of the *Candles* gone, and 'tis impossible (without repentance,) to recall our *Actions*! nay with *repentance*, to recall our *minutes* past us.

Gray
hayres are
Gods
Alarums.

Sir, I know I have much presumed upon your many waighty *affaires* and *thoughts*, I end with an humble cry to the *Father* of *mercies*, that you may take *Davids Counsell*, and filently commune with your owne heart upon your *Bed*, reflect upon your owne *spirit*, and believe Him that said it to his over-zealous *Disciples*, You know not what *spirit* you are of: That, no sleepe may seize upon your *eyes*, nor slumber upon your *eye-lids*, untill your ferious thoughts have *seriously, calmely, and unchangeably* (through helpe from *Christ Jesus*) fixed.

First, On a *Moderation* towards the *Spirits and Consciencs* of all mankinde, meerly differing from or opposing yours with onely Religious and Spirituall *opposition*.

Secondly, A deepe and cordiall *Resolution* (in these wonderfull searhing, disputing, and dissenting times) to searh, to listen, to pray, to fast, and more fearefully, more tremblingly to enquire what the holy *pleasure*, and the holy *mysterics* of the most *Holy* are; in whom I humbly desire to be

*Your poore fellow-Servant, unfainedly,
respective and faithfull,*

R. VWilliams.



An APPENDIX.

To the *Cleargie* of the four^e
great *Parties* (professing the Name of
Christ Jesus) in *England, Scotland, and Ireland,*
viz. The *Popish, Prelaticall, Presbyterian, and*
Independent.

WORTHY SIRS;



Have pleaded the Cause of your severall and respective *Consciences* (against the bloudie Doctrine of *Persecution*) in my former Labours, and in this my present *Rejoynder* to Mr *Cotton* :

And yet I must pray leave without offence to say, I have impartially oppos'd and charg'd your *Consciences* also, so farre as *Guiltie* of that bloudie Doctrine of persecuting each other for your *Consciences*.

You *four* have torne the seamless Coate of the Son of *God* into *four* pieces, and (to say nothing of former *Times* and *Tearings*) you *four* have torne the three *Nations* into thousands of *pieces* and *Distractions*.

The two former of you, the *Popish* and (*Protestant*) *Prelaticall*, are *Brethren* : So are the latter, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* : But, oh, how *Rara est*, &c? What *Concord*, what *Love*, what *pitie* hath

The
seameles
Coat of
Christ Je-
sus torne
into four
pieces,
and the
three Na-
tions torne
into thou-
sands.

ever yet appear'd amongst you, when the *providence* of the most *High* and onely *wise* hath granted you your *Pattents* of mutuall and successeive *Dominion* and *precedencie*?

The Battles of the
Cleargie.
Just like two men, whom I have knowne breake out to *Blowes* and *Wraffling*, so have the *Protestant Bishops* fought and wraffled with the *Popish*, and the *Popish* with the *Protestant*! The *Presbyterian* with the *Independent*, and the *Independent* with the [315] *Presbyterian*! And our *Chronicles* and *Experiences* have told this *Nation*, and the *World*, how he whose *Turne* it is to be brought under, hath ever felt an heavie wrathfull hand of an *unbrotherly* and *unchristian persecutour* :

All Court
the Magistrate for
his Sword,
Meane while, what *outcries* for a *Sword*, a *Sword* at any *price*, on any *Tearmes*, wherewith to take finall *Revenge*s, on such their *Blasphemous* and *Hereticall* Adversaries and *Corrivalls*?

Hence is it, that the *Magistrate* hath been so
& courted, his person *adored* and *Deified*, and his *Religion* magnified and *Exalted*.

his Money
Amongst the *People*, some have thought and said, How hath the shining of the *Magistrates Money* and *Sword*, out shin'd the *Nobilitie* of his *person*, or the *Christianitie* of his *Conscience*? For when the
For which
any person
and Religion
serv'd the
Turne.
person changes and *Religion* too, how grossely notorious have been the *Cleargies* Changes also? For Instance, how have they *Pernified*,¹ tack't and turn'd about (as the wind hath blowne) from *Poperie* to *Protestanisme*, from *Protestantisme* to *Poperie*, and from *Poperie* to *Protestantisme* againe, and this within

¹ For the meaning and derivation of this word, see p. 209 *supra*.

the Compasse of about a dozen yeares; as the *Purse* and *Sword-Bearers* were changed, what ever the persons of those *Princes* (male or female, Men or *Children*, or their *Consciences*, *Popish* or *Protestant*) were.

Yea, how justly in the late *Kings* book ¹ (if his) ^{The late K. charging his Cleargie, &c.} are the *Cleargie* of *England* charged with horrible breach of *Vows* and *Oaths* of *canonicall* obedience to their *Fathers* the *Bishops*, against whom (in the *Turne* of the *Times* and the *Sword-Bearers*) they turned to the *Scotch Presbyters*, their fathers dreadful *Enemies* and *persecutours*?

Now as to the *persecuting* each of other, I confesse the *Wolfe* (the *persecutour*,) devoures the *Goate*, ^{The Wolfe in plea with the Lambe} the *Swine*, yea the very *Fox*, and other *Creatures*, as well as the inoffensive *Sheepe* and *Lambe*? Yet ^{will be alwaies Judge.} (as the *Lord Jesus* made use of that excellent *Fable* or Similitude of a *Wolfe* getting on a *Sheepes*-skin, so) may I not unseasonably make use of that of the *Wolfe* and the poore *Lambe* coming downe to drinke, upon the same *Brooke* and *Streame* together: The *Wolfe* *cruell* and *strong* drinks *above* and aloft: The *Lambe* *innocent* and *weake*, drinks upon the *Streame below*: The *Wolfe* questions and quarrells the *Lambe* for corrupting and defiling

¹ ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings.* 1649. This work was attributed to Charles I., and the authorship has been the subject of much controversy. Williams here intimates his doubt in regard to its being the King's. In 1650 he wrote to John Winthrop, jr., "The Portraiture, I guesse is Bp. Halls,

the stile is pious and acute, very like his, and J. H. subscribes the Epitaph:" 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi: 282. It was claimed by Bishop Gauden. Mackintosh, Hallam and Macaulay are decided in ascribing the book to Gauden alone. *Edin. Rev.* xlv: 1-47. *Introd. to Lit. of Europe*, iii: 661. *Hist. of Eng.* iv. 249.

the Waters: The *Lambe* [316] (not daring to plead how easily the *Wolfe* drinking higher might transfer *Defilement* downward, but) pleads *Improbability* and *Impossibilitie*, that the waters descending could convey defilement upwards: This is the *Controversie*, This the *plea*: But who shall judge? Be the *Lambe* never so innocent, his plea never so just, his Adversary the *Wolfe* will be his judge, and being so cruell and so strong soon teares the *Lambe*, in pieces.

Thus the cruell *Beast* armed with the power of *Kings* (*Revel.* 17. [12]) sits Judge in his owne Quarrels against the *Lambe*, about the drinking at the *Waters*. And thus (sayth Mr *Cotton*) the Judgement ought to passe upon the *Heretick*, not for matter of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his *Conscience*.

Object. Me-thinks I heare, the great charge against the *Independent* partie to be the great pleaders for *Libertie* of *Conscience*, &c.

Answ. Oh the horrible *Deceit* of the hearts of the sons of Men! And, what Excellent *Physick* can we prescribe to others, till our Soule (as *Job* said) come to be in their foules cases? What need have we to be more vile (with *Job*) before God, to walke in holy sence of selfe-Insufficiencie, to cry for the blessed *Leadings* of the holy *Spirit* of *God*, to guide and leade our *Heads* and *Hearts* uprightly?

The wonderfull
Myserie
of the Lib-
ertie of
Con-
science.

For (to draw the *Curtaine*, and let in the *Light* alittle) doe not all *persecutours* themselves zealously plead for *Freedom*, for *Libertie*, for *Mercie* to Mens *Consciences*, when them selves are in the *Grates*, and *Pits*, and under *Hatches*?

Doth not *Gefner*¹ tell us of a Gentleman in *Germanie*, who fitting his *Pitfall* for *Wilde Beasts*, found in the morning a *Woman*, a *Wolfe*, and a *Fox* in three severall Corners, as full of Feare, and as quiet, and as desirous of Libertie one as well as another? Which all persecutors themselves (in their turnes) plead for.

Thus bloudie *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (prisoners, during King *Edwards* dayes) yea and that bloudie *Queene Mary* her selfe, all plead the freedom of their *Consciences*. What most humble Supplications, and indeed unanswerable Arguments for *Libertie of Conscience* have the *Papists* (when in *Restaint*) presented, (and especially) in King *James* his time? Yea what excellent *Subscriptions* to this Soule-Freedome, are interwoven in many passages of the late *Kings Booke* (if his)? Yea and one of his [317] *Chaplaines* (so cald') Doctor *Jer. Taylour*, what an Everlasting Monumentall *Testimonie* did he publish to this *Truth*, in that his excellent Discourse, of *the Libertie of Prophefying*?² Yea the (formerly) Non-conforming *Presbyterian* and *Inde-* K. Charles and his Chaplains forced to subscribe to Libertie of Conscience.

¹Conrad Gefner, was born at Zurich, March 26, 1516, and died Dec. 15, 1565. His History of Animals, from which Williams probably quotes, Cuvier says "may be considered the basis of all modern zoology." *Biog. Univ.* 17: 247. Hallam speaks of him as "that prodigy of general erudition." *Int. to Lit. of Europe*, ii: 465-469. Sir W. Jardine gives an account of this work in a memoir in *Naturalist's Library*, xx: 29-39.

²This work was published in 1647. Williams sent a copy of the present work to Mr Sadleir, which she returned, declining to read it. He replied "since

you please not to read mine, let me pray leave to request your reading of one book of your own authours. I meane The Liberty of Prophefying, penned by (so called) Dr Jer. Taylor, in which is excellently asserted the toleration of differing religions, yea, in a respect, that of papists themselves, which is a new way of soule-freedom, and yet the old way of Christ Jesus, as all his holy Testament declares. I also humbly wish that you may please to read over impartially Mr Milton's answer to the King's book." *Elton's Life*, p. 97.

About
Twenty
years per-
secution in
New Eng-
land.

pendent, *Scotch and English, Old and New*, what most humble and pious Addressees have they made before the whole World, to *Princes and Parliaments*, for just mercy (in true Petitions of Right) to their *Consciences*? But, let this present Discourse, and Mr Cottons Fig-leave *Evasions* and *Distinctions*: Let the *practices* (of the *Massachusetts*) in *New England*, in twenty yeares *persecution*: and this last of Mr Clarke, Obadiab Holmes, and others be Examined: Yea let the *Independent Ministers* late Propofalls be waighed, with the double waight of Gods Sanctuary, and it will appear what *Mercy* the poore Soules of *all Men*, and *Jesus Christ* in any of them, may expect from the very *Independents Cleargie* themselves.

Object. But doth not their *Propofalls* provide a *Libertie* to such as feare God, viz. that they may freely preach without an *Ordination*! and that such as are not free to the publike *Assemblies* may have *Libertie* to meete in private.

The per-
secution of
the *New*
and *Old*
English
Independ-
ent Cleargie.

Answer. It may so please the *Father of Lights* to shew them that their *Lines* and *Modells*, and *New Englands* Copie also (after which they write and penfill,) are but more and more refined *Images*, whereby to worship the *Invisible God*: and that still (as before) the *Wolfe* (the *persecutour*) must judge of the *Lambes* drinking!

For instance; *New Englands* Lawes lately published in Mr Clarks *Narrative*,¹) tell us *how free* it shall be for people to gather themselves into *Church-*

¹ Extracts from the laws of *Massachusetts* on these subjects were printed in *Ill Newes*. 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* ii. 65-70.

estate? how free to choose their owne *Ministers*? how free to enjoy all the *Ordinances* of *Christ Jesus*, &c? But yet, provided, so- and so (upon the point) that the *Civill State* must judge of the *Spirituell*, to wit, *Whether* persons be fit for *Church-estate*, *Whether* the *Gathering* be right, *Whether* the peoples choice be right, *Doctrines* right, and what is this in truth, but to swear that blasphemous *Oath* of *Supremacie* againe, to the *Kings* and *Queenes* and *Magistrates* of this and other *Nations* in stead of the *Pope*, &c?

Into these *Prisons*, and *Cages*, doe those (otherwise worthy and excellent Men, the) *Independents*, put all the Children of [318] *God*, and all the Children of *Men* in the whole World, and then bid them *flie* and *walke* at *Libertie* (to wit, within the *Conjured Circle*) so far as they please.

To particularize briefly: When they have in their six severall *Circuits* ejected (according to their Propofalls) it may be hundreths, it may be thousands (if impartiall) of *Episcopall* and *Presbyterian Ministers*, and that without & against their *Peoples* consent, to the present Distressing of thousands, and inraging (through such *Soul-oppreffions*) the whole *Nation*! Then, say they, it shal be free for all that be able, &c. to be *Preachers*, though not ordained, &c. But, provided, that two *Ministers* hands (at least, which upon the point, is instead of an *Ordination*) be to their *Approbation*, &c. Upon this *lock* any shall be free to preach *Christ Jesus*, upon this *point* of the *Compassse* (as I may in humble reverence, and with sorrow speake it) the *Spirit* of *God*.

A briefe touch of upon the 15 Propofalls of the (so calld) *Independent Ministers*.

The *Independents* implicitly and silently challenge the power of *Ordination*.

shall be free to *breathe* and *operate* in the Soules of Men! By this *Plummet* and *Line*, *Rule* and *Square*, and (seeming) *Goulden Reede* and *Meetewand*, the *Sanctuary* must be built and measured, &c.

But further, if any shall be of tender *Consciencs*, and that the common size will serve their *foote*, if they shall thinke the *Independents Foundations* too *weak*, or it may be too *strong* for their weak *Beliefe*, if they cannot bow downe to their *Goulden Image*, though of the finest and latest *Edition* and *Fashion*: Why *God* forbid they should be forc'd to *Church* as others, they shall enjoy their *Libertie*, and meeteapart in private: But, provided, they acquaint the *Civill Magistrate*, that is, as it may fall out, (who knowes how soon?) and too too often hath faln out, the poore *Sheepe* and *Deere* of *Christ* must take *Licence* of and *betray* themselves unto the *pawes* and *jawes* of their *Lyon-like persecutours*.

Heare Oh *Heavens*, give Eare O *Earth*! What is this but like the Treacherous *Dutchmen*, who Capitulate of *Leagues* of *Peace* and *Amitie*, with their *Neighbour English*, and in the midst of *State Complements* (some say, out of malicious *wrath*, others say twas out of drunken *Intoxications* at the best) thunder out *Broad-sides* of *Fire* and *Smoake* of *persecution*?

Object. Some possibly may say, Your just suffering from the *Independents* in *New England* makes you speake *Revenge* against them in *Old*.

[319] *Ans^w.* What I have suffered in my *Estate*, *Body*, *Name*, *Spirit*, I hope through helpe from *Christ*, and for his sake I have desired to beare with

The Danger of
pawning
spirituall
Liberties
to Civill
powers.

The Dutch
Attempts,
and the In-
dependents,
on their
Friends,
compared.

a *Spirit* of *patience* and of *respect* and *love*, even to my *persecutours*. As to particulars, I have, and must (if God so will) further debate them with my truly honoured and beloved *Adversarie* Mr *Cotton*.

But as to you, worthy Sirs, (men of *Learning*, and men of personall *Holines* many of you) I truly desire to be far from envying your *Honours*, *pleasures*, and *Revenues*, from whence the two former *Popish* & *Prelaticall* are ejected, unto which the two later *Presbyterian* and *Independent* are advanced: Nor would I move a *Tongue* or *pen* that any of you now possessed, should be removed or disturbed, untill your *Consciences* by the holy Spirit of God, or the *Consciences* of the *people*, to whom you serve, or minister, shall be otherwayes (then as you are yet) perswaded.

The Authours desire as to the Ministry of the Land now possessed.

Much rather would I make another humble *plea* (and that I believe with all the *Reason* and *Justice* in the World) that such who are ejected, undone, impoverished, might some way from the *State* or you receive *reliefe* and *succour*: Considering, that the very *Nations* Constitution hath occasioned *parents* to traine up, & *persons* to give themselves to *studies* (though in truth, but in a way of *Trade* & *Bargaining*, before God) yet, 'tis according to the *Custome* of the *Nation*, who ought therefore to share also, in the fault of such *Priests* and *Ministers* who in all changes are ejected.

And as to that Ejected.

I end with humble begging to the *Father* of *Spirits*, to perswade and possesse yours with a true sence of three *particulars*.

The Authour begs three things of God for the Cleargie of England.

First, of the *yoakes* of *Soule-oppression*, which lye

Soule-
Bondage
the
greatest.

upon the necks of most of the *Inhabitants* of the 3 *Nations*, & of the whole world: as if *Chams* Curse from *Noah* were upon them, *Servants* of *Servants* are they, and that in the matters of the *Soules* Affection unto *God*, which call for the purest *Libertie*: I confesse the *World* lyes in *wickednesse*, and loveth darknesse more than *light*: but why should you helpe on those *yoaks*, and force them to receive a *Doctrine*, to pray, to give thanks, &c. without an *Heart*? yea and (in the many changes and cases incident) against their *Heart* and *Soules* Consent?

Secondly, of the *bloudines* of that most bloudie *Doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, with all the *Winding Staires* and *back dores* of it, &c. Some *professors* true and false, *Sheepe* [320] and *Goats*, are daily found to differ in their *Apprehensions*, *perswasions*, *professions*, and that to Bonds and Death.

The
Bloudi-
nesse of
the *Bloudie*
Tenent.

What now, shall these be wrackt, their *Soules*, their *Bodies*, their *purses*, &c? Yea if they refuse, deny, oppose the *Doctrine* of *Christ Jesus*, whether *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, why should you call for *Fire* from *Heaven*, which suits not with *Christ Jesus* his *Spirit* or *Ends*? Why should you compell them to come in, with any other *Sword*, but that of the *Spirit* of *God*, who alone perswaded *Japhet* to come into the Tents of *Shem*, and can in his holy season prevaile with *Shem* to come into the Tents of *Japhet*?

Thirdly, Of that *Bias* of selfe-love which hailes and swayes our minds to hould so fast this bloudie *Tenent*: You know it is the *Spirit* of *Love* from

Christ Jesus, that turns our feet from the *Tradition* of *Fathers*, &c. That sets the *Heart* and *Tongue* and *Pen* and *Hands* too (as *Pauls*) day and night to work, rather than the *progresse* and *puritie* and *simplicitie* of the *Crowne* of *Christ Jesus* should be debased or hindred.

This *Spirit* will cause you leave (with joy) *Benefices*, and *Bishopricks*, *Worlds* and *Lives* for his sake: the *Heights* and *Depths*, *Lengths* and *Breadths*, of whose Love you know doth infinitely passe your most knowing *Comprehensions* and *Imaginations*. There is but little of this *Spirit* extant, I feare will not be, untill we see *Christ Jesus* slaine in the slaughter of the *Witnesses*: Then *Joseph* will goe boldly unto *Pilate* for the slaughtered bodie of most precious *Savior*: and *Nicodemus*, will goe by day, to buy and bestow his sweetest *spices* on his infinitely sweeter Soules beloved. The full breathings of that heavenly *Spirit*, unfeinedly and heartily wisheth you,

Little of
the Spirit
of Love
from

Christ Je-
sus yet ex-
tant, and
our selfe-
love bias-
seth us to
conven-
tions, tra-
ditions,
and Doc-
trines of
persecuti-
ons.

Your most unworthy countriman,

R. Williams.

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| <i>The power of Conscience though erroneous</i> | p. 307 |
| <i>The Common Prayer and the Composers of it</i> | p. 308 |
| <i>Perfumes with man, stinks with God</i> | ibid. |
| <i>Of Spiritual Baits and Snares</i> | p. 309 |
| <i>Spiritual Witchcraft</i> | ibid. |
| <i>Spiritual Drunkenness and the persecuting Language of it</i> | p. 310 |
| <i>The horrible path which Persecutors walk in</i> | p. 311 |
| <i>The least beginning of Persecution tends to Blood.</i> | |
| <i>Gods dreadful judgement against Persecutors</i> | p. 312 |
| <i>Gray haire are Gods Alarums</i> | p. 313 |
| <i>An appendix to the Cleargie of (old and New) England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> | p. 514 |
| <i>The Cleargie Court the Magistrate for his Sword and his money</i> | p. 315 |
| <i>The late Kings charge against his Clergie</i> | ibid. |
| <i>The Woolfe pleading with the Lamb will be judge</i> | ibid. |
| <i>All prosecutors (in their turns) plead for libertie of conscience</i> | p. 316 |
| <i>King Charles and his Chaplains subscribe to libertie of conscience</i> | ibid. |
| <i>About twenty years persecution in New England</i> | p. 317 |
| <i>The persecution of the New and old English independent Cleargie</i> | p. 317 |
| <i>A briefe touch upon the fifteen proposals of the (so called) Independent Ministers</i> | p. 318 |
| <i>They silently challenge the power of ordination in all England, &c.</i> | ibid. |
| <i>They sell the Spirituall Libertie of Christ</i> | ibid. |

ERRATUM.

In note, p. 423, read *The Ploughman's Tale* for *Piers Ploughman's Tale*.

